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Master' s Thesis

Characteristics of Kampung Upgrading Programs in Indonesia

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Characteristics of Kampung Upgrading Programs in Indonesia

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April 2016

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Abstract

Characteristics of Kampung Upgrading Programs in Indonesia

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The Government of Indonesia has continuously tried to solve slum problems, by initiating the Kampung Improvement programme (KIP) since 1969, which is considered to be one of the largest urban poverty relief site-and-service programme in the world. This project has been conducted by taking community-based approach among neighbourhood on customary land. Kampung has traditionally been formed as a type of an indigenous village in Indonesia, Brunei and Malaysia, which has grown organically and incrementally for a long time without planning guidance or regulations, building codes or centralised, coordinated service provision.

This research aims to find out the characteristics of slum upgrading programme, with particular emphasis on security of tenure faced by inner-city Kampung community in the country. Kampung still remains traditional community spirit since the 'site and service programme' first launched, and customary land exists in most of Kampung where the residents possess the land with property tax receipts, notarised purchase receipts and letters from village head. The government, however, has not acknowledged village head's authority and this 'possessory title' for the compensation when Kampung land was purchased for the project. Formation of Kampung history has been reflected in the land tenure system and thereby influenced KIP. KIPs are accordingly required to take community-based approach to enhance self-development

capabilities in Indonesia, reflecting that the traditional values are considered to serve as intangible norm for Kampung society.

Afterwards, land capitalism was introduced and democracy as well was proceeded in Indonesia. After decentralisation and democracy in Indonesia, there has been policy shift towards neo-liberal movement by World Bank. The bank disbursed knowledge and provided technical assistance for developing countries. Developing countries have started looking deeply into the importance of institution formulation and the need to include social development agendas, marked by poverty reduction and social inclusion. Programme Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat/National Programme (PNPM) for Community Empowerment) and Comprehensive Kampung Improvement Program(PNPM) in Indonesia –considered to be influenced by the Stiglitz’s new aid policy– adopted (i) the comprehensive development; and (ii) poverty reduction strategy. Indonesia has implemented a community-driven development approach. The urban poverty alleviation scheme has become comprehensive approaches for building infrastructures and service-provision platform in Kampung areas from the physical, social, economical, and environmental perspectives.

This research concluded following aspects: (i) dual land tenure system has been functioned even many twists and turns: Adat law as a land customary law coexists with statutory law in Indonesia; (ii) local government has potentials to initiate Kampung upgrading comprising physical improvement and social inclusion in parter with spontaneous Kampung; (iii) though international organisations such as world bank contributed to suggest macro indicators and policy guidances for slum upgrading, they are unlikely to develop the implementation process. Policy implementation process is of importance and village community is thus required to play the leading and/or cooperative role in implementing Kampung upgrading and; (iv) a village governance system at practical and detailed level, needs to be designed for developing countries to implement their slum upgrading.

Keywords: Customary land tenure, kampung, Indonesia, self-help housing, site-and-service, Kampung Improvement Program, Slum, Slum Upgrading, National Development

Student Number : 2014-24074

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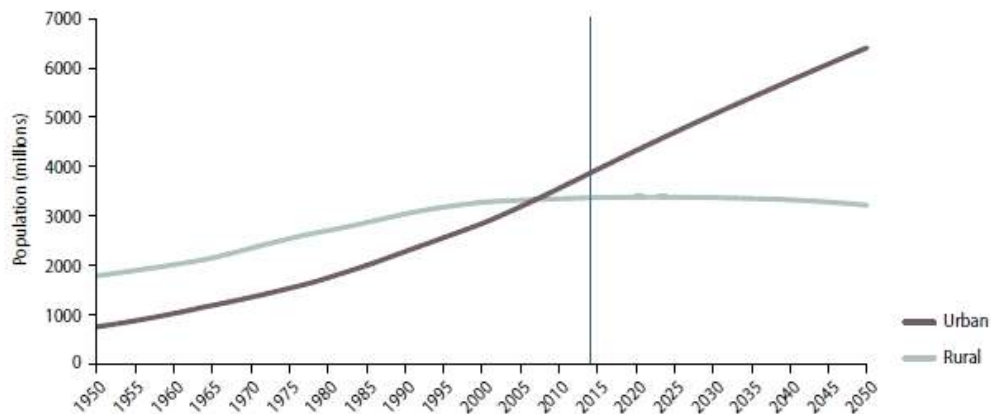
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I. Introduction

1. Background and Objectives

In 2003, the United Nation Human Settlements programme published report on problems of slums and squatters, and increase in poverty and inequality in developing countries.¹⁾ The report estimated that worlds's about 32 percent of the urban population living in slum is predicted to increase rapidly if adequate action might not be taken. Urban population has exceeded 51% in 2010, and are expected to become 76% in 2050 (see figure 1-1)²⁾. Due to the rapid urbanisation and increase in urban poverty population in developing countries, slum population is expected to increase further from 7 million to 14 million, roughly twice of its current size³⁾. Informal squatter problem has accordingly become global agenda, particularly in Asia and African countries.



[Figure 1-1] Increase in urban and rural population

Source: United Nations(2014)

Most of Indonesian population has been positioned under poverty line and they

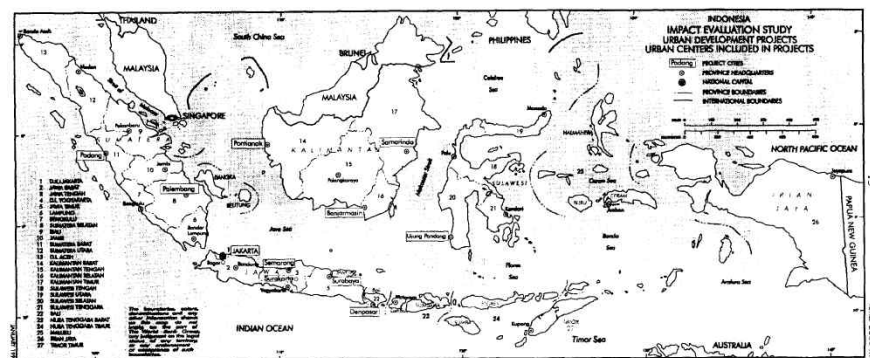
1) UN-HABITAT(2003), The Challenge of Slums

2) United Nations(2014), World Urbanisation Prospects, p.g 7

3) United Nations(2014), World Urbanisation Prospects, p.g 2

have lived in settlement like slum and squatter areas. Slums are the most frequent problem and challenge in the developing country. In the past century, slum was defined as an area with unhealthy streets inhabited by high numbers of criminal population. The initial definition has not been changed much and slum is characterised by (i) overcrowding, (ii) poor, or (iii) informal housing, (iv) inadequate access to safety, water, sanitation, and (v) insecurity of tenure.

On the other hand, Kampung has been classified as a typical traditional settlement that can be found in any contemporary Indonesian city. It has taken on approximately 60 percent of the population.⁴⁾ Houses are categorised as several groups depending on materials used for the roofs and walls. About 45 percent of urban Kampung housing has been classified as temporary housing for the poor people and lower class.⁵⁾ In the context of Indonesian slum, Kampung cannot simply be regarded as a squatter or a slum. Kampung has been representing a village with tight agglomeration of self-built housing which is mostly built by traditional ways on customary land. Kampung has retained an indigenous and conventional wisdom to customarily regulate communities and manage various slum dwellers at different housing price levels.



[Figure 1-2] Map of Indonesia

Source: World Bank(1996), Indonesia Impact Evaluation Report

4) UN-HABITAT(2012), Streets as Tools for Urban Transformation in Slums, p.g. 68-69

5) Statistical Office of the Special Province of Yogyakarta(1980)



[Figure 1-3] Slum area in Jakarta, Indonesia

Source: Aga Khan Development Network,

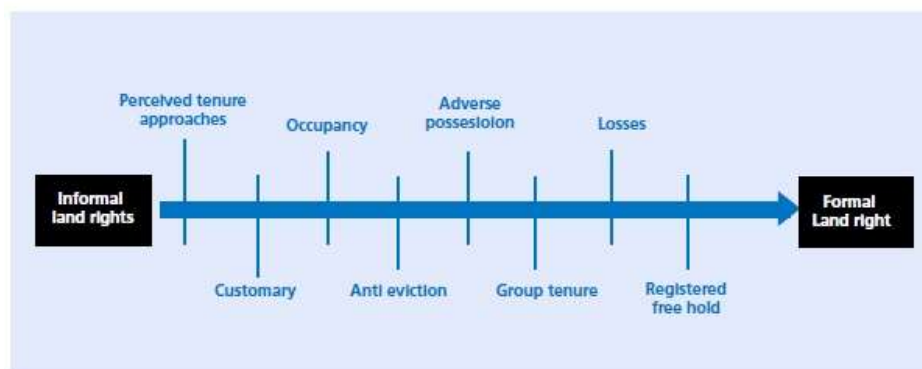
<http://www.akdn.org/architecture/project.asp?id=1>

The country's urban population continues to grow, and current portion of city residents accordingly exceeds 50 per cent with 12% of entire Indonesian population under poverty line, and it is expected to reach 70 per cent, from 108 million to 187 million over the next 25 years⁶⁾. This is mostly attributed to rural-urban migration phenomenon. Indonesian government tried to improve a quality of life in Kampung through Kampung Upgrading Programmes in line with economic development since Dutch colonial period.

With all these efforts aimed at the physical and socio-economic development of Kampung, it is still controversy over their legal status on real estate. Tenure security may cause the living quality within a community and land tenure rights would be of importance in this respect. As the slum upgrading was being implemented and infrastructure is being built, Kampung dwellers are likely to claim their tenure. In spite of this, they have difficulties to find any evidences to ensure their tenure security.

6) World Bank(2004), Indonesia Averting an Infrastructure Crisis, p.g. 14

Indonesia has its own unique traditional customary land system whileas culture has great influence on the urban Kampung as well as rural Kampung. Legislative system such as land registration scheme during New Order Period between 1960 and 1998, has not been put in place successfully. It is not only because there existed complex legal system including customary law and western Agrarian law – which was unified after 1960 – but also because municipal governments have not enforced applicable laws to land tenure. Even if ownership belongs to family and community, lands have usually been managed by a Kampung leader on behalf of the community. There have been a wide acceptance and practice of land registration in Indonesia as above. However, customary land ownership has been facing challenges as land was commercialised and its value was raised. As the projects are being implemented, Kampung are gradually losing a sense of community despite sticking to their traditional living life and the slum upgrading project are required to resolve land rights and ownership in community.



[Figure 1-4] Range of land rights

Source: UN-HABITAT(2008)

The research objectives are to (i) examine the influence of customary land and ownership on slum upgrading, and (ii) identify characteristics of Kampung Upgrading Programmes in Indonesia.

2. Research Scope and Methodology

The research scope is confined to 'site and service' projects as part of a national slum upgrading programme and national poverty-alleviation programme driven by concerted efforts between the Indonesian Government and World Bank. At the geographical level, this research puts stress on the inner-city Kampung which were a rural Kampung previously. In order to identify characteristics of the customary land rights and tenure security governance in accordance with changes of slum upgrading in Indonesia, the research mainly employs qualitative analysis methods using (i) literature reviews and (ii) interviews with relevant agencies and experts. This research reviews the timeline from colonial times till now to find out characteristics of Kampung, with particular emphasis on a dweller's tenure. The study also closely analyse a relationship between indigenous customary land system in Kampung and legally-binding land enforced by the government of Indonesia.

The research has been conducted mainly using the following empirical approaches:

Firstly, the study reviews international organisations' report⁷⁾ to investigate an international guidance and recommendations. UN-HABITAT has developed policy and guidances and implemented thereby a variety of slum upgrading projects with different backgrounds, while 'KIP Impact Report', published by World Bank in 1995, evaluate the projects through (i) interviewing with experts and beneficiary groups and (ii) conducting case studies. In added to this, secondary data came from research articles, the government's documents, and media including newspaper. Theses include: (i) the history of projects; (ii) the efficacy of investments, and (iii) lessons learnt from practices to improve future development policies and appraisal methodologies.

Secondly, the research reviewed the characteristics of culture, history, and spatial structure on the formation of Kampung in Indonesia, through interviewing with

7) One of representative of publications is 'the Challenge of Slum (2003)' by UN-HABITAT

housing officials in charge of housing policy and implementation. Indonesia embassy provided assistance for arranging tele-conferences with housing officials and experts in Indonesia.

Thirdly, the study examines legal system of Indonesia including (i) Basic Agrarian Law 1960 as statute law and (ii) Adat rights as customary law. Interviews with Indonesia experts have been conducted to understand the Kampung historical and cultural values inherent in legislation and law enforcement.

II. Definition of Slum Upgrading

1. Types of Slum Upgrading

According to 'Challenge of slums-global report of human settlement' published by UN-HABITAT (2003), there found several developing country's approaches to resolve slum problems. This action includes: (i) negligence; (ii) eviction; (iii) self-help housing and in-situ upgrading; (iv) resettlement; and (v) participatory slum improvement.

(i) 'Negligence' approach has been observed previously in national development. After independence in developing countries. There has been increase in inequality and spatial segregation as negative consequences of the national development projects.

(ii) 'Eviction' is an approach to implement urban regeneration projects and construct urban infrastructures between 1970s and 1980s. The eviction has been an efficient way under the political environment of powerful central government and weak local government. Compensation and negotiation are rare in the slum developing process and dwellers usually have no choice but to resettle on other temporary areas, resulting in aggravating slums. As urban developing are being proceed with, high pressure was given to inner-city slum dwellers and they moved to a periphery location of urban areas. As demand for land and housing is rapidly increasing, informal land markets is possibly being created to meet the requirements.

(iii) 'Self-help' and 'in-situ upgrading' were introduced in late 1970s, but failed to manage poor communities. It aimed to provide (i) basic urban services like road, sewage, and disposal systems; (ii) provision of secure tenure; and (iii) access to credit in accordance with requirements of slum dwellers and communities.⁸⁾

8) UN-HABITAT(2003), The Challenge of Slums, pp 29-33, it needs US \$38 per household to upgrade their household with self-help method, which is considerably much cheaper compared to US \$10,000 for building public housing.

(iv) 'Resettlement' is a movement of dwellers to new settlement with improved land tenure system, which is usually supported by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). However, they often move to peripheral areas where are not equipped with appropriated facilities and service provision.

(v) 'Participatory slum improvement' takes place in the developing countries that are keen to improve health, education, job training, and healthier livelihood. Consorted efforts between government and community are of importance to implement the 'participatory slum upgrading'.

2. Literature Reviews

(1) UN-HABITAT

According to UN-HABITAT report in 2003⁹⁾, the minimum living standard of slum dweller is required to be fulfilled. The criteria of minimum living standard include: (i) access to safe and sufficient amount of water at an affordable price; (ii) access to sanitation and provision of hygienic disposal system and private toilet; (iii) sufficient living area; (iii) provision of appropriate living area; (iv) structural stability; and (v) tenure security.¹⁰⁾

Vulnerable slum dwellers often face displacement and eviction because slums are usually located in city centres close to their working places in old part of the city. Their location with high land prices have become targeted for redevelopment and commercialisation. UN-HABITAT put stress on a housing security to be equitable and available to everyone in less developing world.

(2) Kampung Community

In recent decades, donor agencies such as international organisations have

9) UN-HABITAT(2003), The Challenge of Slums

10) op. cit.

increasingly employed the concept of community to systematically implement sustainable development or community-based and participatory approaches in developing community at the policy level. Li(2002) found that over decades communities were able to be engaged in the policy process or in a dialogue at local government level¹¹⁾.

Yok-Shiu Lee(1998), who studied slums in Bangkok, defined the community as a group of village members with daily basis contact¹²⁾. This means that people in low-income settlement will have strong sense of belongings and shared interests. Also, Grant(2002), pointed out that such a community can provide mutual aid and defence themselves against outsiders who are trying to invade their living areas. Community can be seen as incorporating solidarity, cohesion, conformity, social control, traditions, discipline, and belongings.¹³⁾ The term of community has been used in many different ways.

'Local government and community in Java' by John Sullivan (1992) showed how Kampungns have been under pressure of central and local government, with particular emphasis on the public harmony with the urban neighbourhoods to encourage participation in national programmes¹⁴⁾.

(3) Slum Community and Culture by Carl V. Patton

Carl V. Patton (1988) investigated how particular forms of residential organisation may support family or kinship structures. Particular types of clustering reinforce group

11) Li(2002), Engaging Simplifications: Community-Based Resource Management, Market Processes and State Agendas in Upland Southeast Asia, pp 265-283

12) Yok-Shiu Lee(1998), Intermediary Institutions, Community Organizations, and Urban Environmental Management, p.g 993-1011

13) Grant(2002), Social Capital and Community Strategies: Neighbourhood Development in Guatemala City, pg. 32: 975 - 997.

14) Sullivan(1992), Local government and Community in Java: an urban case-study

identity and preserve core cultural patterns unique to a community (e.g. institutions, language, food, baths, and rituals)¹⁵⁾. As traditional vernacular settlements are spontaneously made, the group of settlers is self-selected and their cultural environment become created. He also explained that the relationships of social groups and other intermediate institutions or structures, and their congruence between physical units and culture units.¹⁶⁾

(4) Tenure Security and Self-help housing by Samba Mukoko(1996)

Samba's analysis pointed out that tenure security is the most powerful incentives for housing upgrading projects in developing countries. Those of slum dwellers who have right of ownership or strong right to build will have a strong incentive to invest further on their housing and property values. This can be done by continuous and step-by-step development of structure and infrastructure.

15) Carl V. Patton(1988), Spontaneous Shelter, Meeting Shelter Needs in Indonesia, p.g.

168

16) op. cit.

III. Characteristics of Kampung

1. Definition of Kampung

The population of an urban Kampung is generally made up of lower-class workers. These Kampung have village settlements in common: with most of the houses built of bamboo and wood, surrounded by plenty of trees and decorative trees of plants.

Kampung can be found in both rural and urban areas which are characterised by dense and homeogenous village pattern society. Despite the lack of infrastructure and service provision, most of ethnic group in Indonesia still want to live in the Kampung. There are two reasons that Kampung get attraction from migrants: (i) appropriate location and (ii) housing affordability. Kampung are normally located in the strategic parts of the city such as government centres, central business districts, shopping centers and rich elite residence. This can be explained by the fact that people in Kampung want to live the near place where economic activities are brisk.

There can be classified as several types of Kampung by locations and development types of Kampung (see table 3-1). These types can be clustered as (i) the in-migration model and (ii) indigenous model.

(i) The in-migration model is applied to a Kampung area where has expanded by massive in-migration from rural areas to urban areas. It creates temporary and squatter settlements on state land or facilitate movement into customary Kampung. These people who migrate from rural areas tend to have a lower knowledge skills, which makes it hard to achieve in the job creation of the city and stuck in poverty cycle.

(ii) The indigenous model is originated from Dutch colonial period. The old part of the city called Kota was a walled community where native indigenous people are allowed to make village settlements separated from Dutch community.

These Kampung are often segregated by ethnicity and occupation, and many

of them are still bearing its name until now. After the independence, the city boundaries continued to grow organically and the Kampung community were engulfed by the city development (see figure 3-1). These highly-densed urban settlements – mostly inhabited by variety of income groups – used to meet residential requirement and working conditions.

Classification by Location	
Open Kampung	Locate behind the richer settlement in main streets.
Semi-open Kampung	Located in commercial area with many public and commercialised buildings.
Closed Kampung	Located in inner-city with dense population but away from main streets.
Fringe Kampung	Located in the periphery of mega cities like Bandung and Surabaya
Rural Kampung	Located in areas where it does not conform to land-use plans, and not regularized with problems of land rights.
Classification by Type of Development	
Traditional Kampung	Mostly original and old village and it was built by the first inhabitants of a city
Built by city government during colonial period	Located in strategic part of the city to provide cheap labour resources to wealthy residential areas.
Regularized	This used to be a squatters on public land, however, after establishment of Basic Agrarian Law in 1960, it was regularized and formalized.
Reclaimed and regularized	Originally squatters on public land like coastal areas or marshlands but on claimed land
Marginal Kampung	This do not conform to land use plans or formalized with problems of land rights.

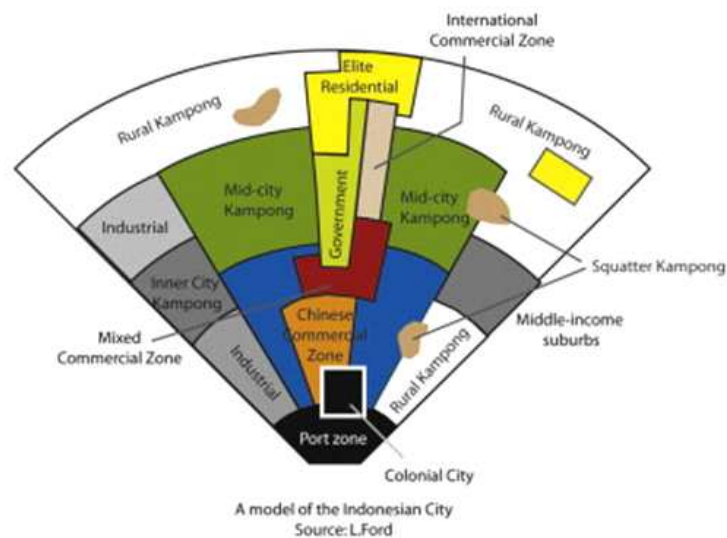
[Table 3-1] Kampung classified by location and type of development

Source: Modified from World Bank(1994): Indonesia Impact Evaluation Report

2. Historical Formation of Kampung

1) Dutch and Japanese colonial period

During 17th century, the Old Batavia was surrounded by Chinese and Indian quarters. This Kota form was separated from Dutch residential areas (refer to figure 3-2). In the 1920s and 1930s during the Dutch colonisation, rural-urban migration of the indigenous population, continued to increase population and expand city in parallel (see figure 3-1). The expanding city had engulfed many autonomous rural Kampung villages or the fringes of Indonesian cities, which turned into urban settlements with a residential nature, thus becoming the first urban Kampung. Land around the city was rapidly changing from the community bound by genealogical or territorial ties to a private community. There had been a mixture of different communities where different ethnic groups have lived for many generations. During the colonial times, Dutch government legislated a new land law for the inner-city Kampung. However, customary law had been effective within rural Kampung community. At the time, Kampung community in the customary land where many generations had lived, was designed Kampung dwellers to protect from outside invaders.



[Figure 3-1] A model of the Indonesian City

Source: Ford (1993)

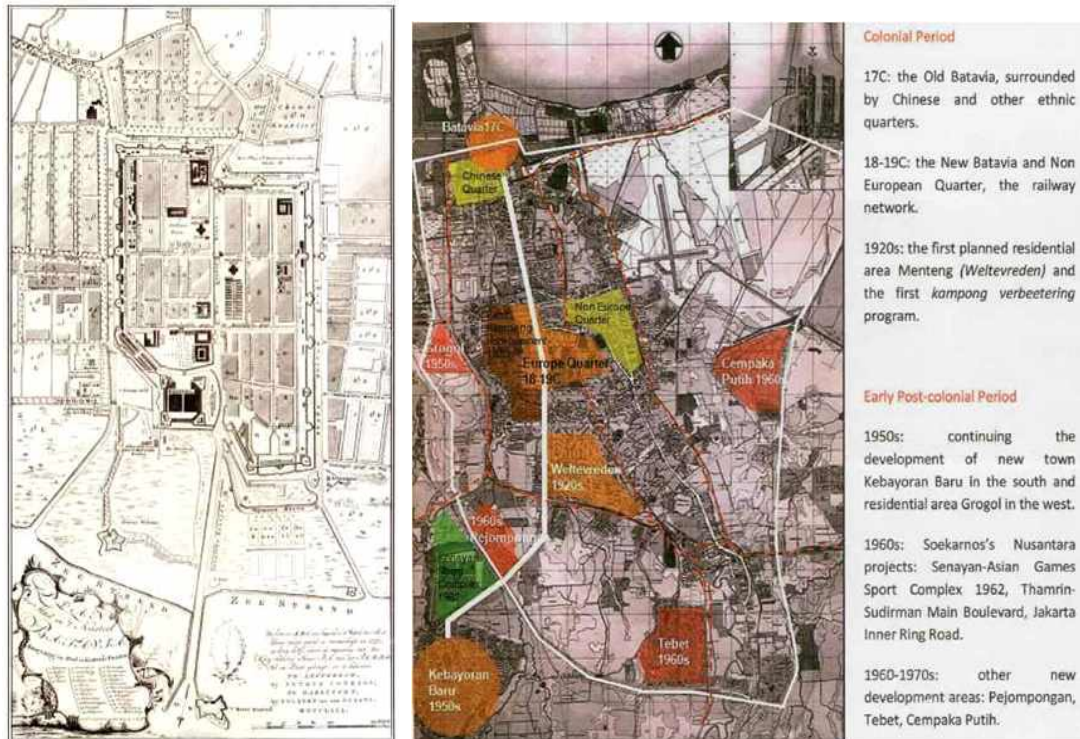
Meanwhile, expanding cities engulfed many indigenous rural villages called as Desa, which soon lost their rural character and incorporated into urban Kampung with an almost entirely residential nature (see figure 3-3). These expanded Kampung located in near to city, however, brought social and ethical characters of the rural desa. Kampung were allowed for a high degree of autonomy and/or village autonomy, which means that the population could apply its own customary or Adat law, administration, and other land related rights. The majority of the indigenous population were packed into Kampung settlements and Kampung was made of different ethnic groups as a result of mixed population. Kampung settlements did not consist of original indigenous resident only.

At that time, the central government opposed local governments' interference in the Kampung, because central government was concerned about Kampung autonomy. The policy and practices of the colonial government dealt with the protection of customary land tenure rights in Kampung.¹⁷⁾ In 1929, the central government, however, initiated a village development in such way to provide funds to local government for village improvement activities, believing that (i) the budget allocation by the central government could be effective in controlling local government and (ii) Kampung could be improved if their autonomy was abolished. The municipal government had difficulties in enforcing regulations applicable to village, because existing settlements had continuously been put in place. By the end of the colonial period, Kampung failed to resolve existing problems, and the government accordingly had no choice but to acknowledge Kampung's characteristics.

Towards the end of the colonial period, the failure to manage the Kampung's issues led to an acknowledgement of Kampung status, and therefore allowed for an

17) For Dutch colonies, Inner-city Kampung with variety of indigenous people was treated as separated neighbourhood according to 'new land law' since 1870. It could only be managed by the central government.

exception to the state laws and regulation.



[Figure 3-2] Wall of Dutch community during Colonial Period in Jakarta 1780,

[Figure 3-3] Jakarta's historical growth

Source: Woo, Don-sun (2013)

Traditional Kampung has been formed organically and existed for a long time. As Dutch incorporated Old Batavia into Jakarta, the size of Kampung became bigger through integrating the outside colonial cities and fortress.

During Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the living conditions in the west Javanese countryside became deteriorated:

- (i) Jobs opportunities for plantation work disappeared;
- (ii) Japanese troops plundered rices from farmers for the military provision.

As a result, there has been huge influx of refugees to Kampung where were functioned for refugee settlement for those who escaped. Japanese administration forced

people to squat on private land, causing huge complicity on land registration system. Land were developed without authorization: as long as there was no eviction from the government, people could move to the squatters. With the inflow of new migrants into inner-city Kampung, communities had gradually been mixed and complex. The first migrants – with traditional characteristics both socially and physically – moved from a rural into an urban area, and were given to labour opportunities in informal sectors.

2) Independence period

In the independence period, the new Indonesian government was unlikely to effectively regulate Kampung because of insufficient financial resources to implement the projects. Municipal and central government initiated a self-help housing policy and social housing, which also gained prominence in international development cases and brought benefits to mid-class civil servants. The government tried to restrict rural-urban migration and encourage to process land registration until 1964, which resultantly formulated 'closed-city' such as Bandung. Meantime, urban Kampung faced legal and financial problems, and autonomous villages were finally abolished and incorporated into a municipal administrative hierarchy. Despite, land reforms in the countryside, enabled vulnerable tenants and landless labourers to have access to land.

The abolishment of village autonomy was a symbolic step to resolve inconsistency between colonial law and indigenous law. But this was not aligned with a consistent set of policies to improve comprehensive living conditions in Kampung and it thus had little consequences in practice. It changed legal position of Kampung dwellers and turned many Kampung into informal settlements with feature of housing residents with weak or no legal claims to the land. Resident framework was therefore considered to avoid ill-founded and immediate interference by the municipal government.

3) New Order period

During new order period, migration from rural areas continued to grow in an urban areas to seek job opportunities¹⁸⁾. They had no access to formal land and housing, but there was peaceful migration pattern: rural migrants moved to the urban Kampung where has friends and family and family-oriented culture has thus been conserved. Relatives and friends joined them to assist labour intensive works such as agriculture and farming work at first. According to 'the Indonesian Town Revisited'¹⁹⁾ by Peter J (2002), those who had relatives in the city, could easily move into existing Kampung, after independence from Dutch colony. They firstly moved in as a guest, and later they bought rights to small plot of land where they could build small house, and then they brought more families from the village and gradually extend and improve the original house to be suitable for convenient living.

Economic growth resulted in spatial changes. The spatial development was however informal and the use of space entailed an intensive mixture of private and public activities. Meantimes, oil revenue in the 1970s enabled to implement the rapid development of the central city, especially the construction of high-rise hotels and offices. This development of the central business areas restricted the further extension of the Kampung's area, but it ultimately brought increased prosperity to its inhabitants.

Rural migrants continued to maintain the village lifestyle after urban settlements, and their living conditions became deteriorated. They tended to live on the basis of their origin, mostly nearby their relatives or someone they had known from their old village. These people tended to provide them with a shelter until they found a job. Reerink(2011) pointed out that immigrants were clustered in accordance with their origin²⁰⁾. The

18) Due to population becoming heterogeneous, as a result of temporal residents increased, community feeling has been lost at large extent after end of 1960s.

19) Peter J(2002), The Indonesian Town Revisited, p.g. 6, pp. 89-100

20) Reerink(2011), Tenure Security for Indonesia's Urban Poor, pg. 34

traditional culture of Gotong Royong(mutual-help), wherein residents was providing services to the community without any financial reward.

There has been many forced resettlements that have sacrificed their land for development. City governments tried to solve these problems through top-down approach to assist the evicted people. However, the lack of identifying comprehensive challenges posed by the vulnerable people, made it difficult to implement top-down policy, resulting in the failure of resettlements.

4) Democracy Period

After Suharto fell down, the government tried to eradicate poverty in urban and rural areas by building human capacities. Decentralised and autonomous Kampung policy put emphasis on poverty-alleviation schemes (e.g. One Million Housings Development Project in 2004). For the government structure, department of settlements and rural infrastructure was established to implement a new national housing and settlement programmes. These programmes were initiated by both of Indonesian central government and local governments to take responsibilities in poverty reduction in regional economy. In spite of the efforts given by the central and local governments, urban-Kampung community are still self-reliant, even though community feeling is not so strong as before. Resultantly, informal land status and land use still remains in many Kampung. This is also due to the unique history and background of Kampung with relatively strong community feeling.

3. Land Tenure System

Slum upgrading projects in Indonesia did not directly resolve land tenure security issues such as land registration and institutional regulations. This is due to the fact of: (i) complex and expensive registration (ii) existence of customary land rights and ownership (iii) unstable national-wide land registration initiated by consorted effort

between the government and world bank.

1) Land registration in Indonesia

KIP has not attempted to resolve land and housing tenure rights and/or ownerships effectively and its ownership is secured as a common community asset of land. If community security is strengthened, people are likely to be motivated to improve their housing and status of tenure security. Land tenure conditions, even in improved Kampung have thus remain unchanged.

'In a cases of land price after KIP, increased due to improvement in facility and government rarely provides land certificate especially in Jakarta. For those of who have leasehold for 20–30 years, the city tried to have good development plan, changed from leasehold to freehold. However, this did not happened in customary land. They do not have concept of buy and sell. Also, in Indonesian Kampung, government do not need to pay for the compensation to community because mostly they do not have bought certificate from National Land Agency (NLA). People believe that KIP itself is paying for the people because infrastructures like road and footpath belong to people. They believe that improvement is part of their asset.'(interview with Johan Silas, 21, May 2016)

In the 1970s, a wave of nationalisation²¹⁾ of land was prevalent in Indonesia. However, land tenure problem could not be solved in Kampung Improvement Project (KIP) because of complex land ownership structures and a contentious legal framework. On one hand, this secured land security could encourage to invest in

21) All land policy and standards to be set by the central government, and all monitoring and supervision activities to be carried out by the central government (BPN: National Land Agency).

Kampung villages. The lack of titles and administration system had difficulties to attract Kampung investment from developers or higher-income households. On the other hand, Kampung residents with customary land without land titles, could not sell their lands to developers for new uses, even though Adat rights inherited from their ancestors guaranteed their customary land security. From the interview with Iwan Rudiarto, who is a professor at Department. of Urban and Regional Planning at Diponegoro University, KIP in Indonesia poses challenges over the site where land tenure problems are not solved.

'Kampung Improvement Programme was carried out in such way to improve tenure security which lead to a land title. However, in some cases, the government did not want to formalise or even legalise customary or illegal land in slum area. It rarely happened though the community had a strong feeling on their existence and wanted their future generation to be able to live in a secure place. The government was requested to build infrastructure. It could be done only through their collective budget. (interview with Iwan Rudiarto, 13, April 2016)

Mohammad. Z (2000), highlighted that in the process of land registration and land related certificate, people should go through various steps and different agencies involving 17 steps, 18 agencies, and it would take 2-3 years at an average to complete all the process. Also, centralised national land agency delays registration process in local areas. He estimated that it would take more than 125 years to complete existing land plots with current resources under current administrative environment²²⁾. Also, the registration cost incurred in building construction was expensive because it is imperative for applicants to fulfill the severe requirements such as construction

22) Mohammad Z(2000), International Comparative Review: Displacement of People and Resettlement, p.g. 25.

materials, standardised space and density requirements. Those who owned a customary land – now incorporated into the state land after BAL– are required to retain the land certificate for registration, which means they have to prove their occupied land by relevant land documents such as tax documentation or something like that. However, Kampong dwellers were unwilling to register their customary land pursuant to the government’s law and regulation. In this regard, BAL as western based regulation, has not been harmonised with Adat system.

2) Customary land rights and ownership

Customary land has existed in Indonesia and been effective in real estate economy over many centuries in spite of the government’s efforts to codify the right. Meanwhile, 11 laws have been enacted during the land reform in Indonesia since 1998 recognise to protect customary tenure, and provide facilities such as water, land, and forest.²³⁾ Residents were equipped with a secured sense of community based on communal ownership on customary land and did not necessarily register their ownership in statutory system, resulting in rare rate registration.

(1) Adat law as Customary Law

Customary law existed in Indonesia for a long time. There are three types of Adat society depending on territorial differences.

23) USAID(2010), Land Tenure Indonesia Profile: Property rights& Resource governance”

Type of Adat society	
Village Society	Groups of indigenous natives who tend to live by their own principles and lifestyles. They usually have similar belief and religion and usually lived in one location for many generations and governed by the village chief.
District Society	Groups of village societies living in similar customary systems which live within the same district areas. These village society/community usually retains its independence from each other.
Village Union Society	This was formed with cooperation between the district societies aim to work together for a prosperous society.

[Table 3-2] Customary Society Structure

Customary laws are comprised of four parts: (i) marriage law; (ii) inheritance law; (iii) land law; and (iv) the law of delict. According to Adat land law, there exist two legal systems used to determine land rights. This customary land has been effective as the primary land right in this respect, even though the central government insists formal titling in accordance with western-style national laws.

Adat Kampung has its own special organisational structure and culture. In order to establish their own communal rights, Kampung used to be empowered to govern its community in autonomous way by Adat law. This customary rights are still valid as long as they are evidenced by the land relevant documents (e.g. tax receipt and evidence of their ancestor's the land are provided by the head of villages).

'The Kampung residents have lived their life with religious and traditional values, particularly in rural or urban areas with high number of migrants where Sultan exerted a deep influence.

Also, the government guarantee every indigenous community to have a freedom to live in their own ways, nevertheless in case of a request of favour their quality of

life or to solve their issues, the first to respond is the local government surround them. The government has not interfered to change their custom nor their way of live unless a request has been made' (interview with Erna Wati professor at Universitas Islam Indonesia, Centre for Local Law Development Studies, 10 April 2016)

(2) Constitution of Indonesia in 1945

A community has its typical rights to determine both individual and social rights as well as individual and social obligations. Likewise social rights of Adat law are rights possessed by a community over the lands and the natural resources which exist in their Adat territories. Adat community is acknowledged by article 18B (1) and (2) in the Constitutional law of Indonesia and in article as follows:

“(1)The State recognizes and respects Adat communities along with their traditional rights as long as they remain in existence and are in accordance with the societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and shall be regulated by law. (2)The State recognises and respects traditional communities along with their traditional customary rights as long as these remain in existence and are in accordance with the societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and shall be regulated by law.”²⁴⁾

Article 28 (3) and (4) of the Indonesian constitutional law states that:

“(3) The cultural identities and rights of traditional communities shall be respected in accordance with the development of times and civilisations. (4) The protection, advancement, upholding and fulfillment of human rights are the responsibility of the state, especially the government.”

24) The constitutional law of the republic of indonesia article 18B(1945)

(3) Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) in 1960

The Indonesian Government legislated Basic Agrarian Law in 1960. This was the first land related law in Indonesia after its independence. It aimed to bring the colonial legal system for establishing a unified land rights, and identifying new rights by codified act for the state land. This was done to implement Suharto's economic development during New Order periods. However, its base was under the 'Adat' concept and it was not easy to incorporate customary right to codified law, resulting in significant legal inconsistencies. Pursuant to BAL, lands were regulated by the government to achieve overall prosperity of the Indonesian people. In the colonial period, non-indigenous citizens were subject to the western Dutch civil code on land ownership, while Indonesian indigenous people were regulated by the traditional customary laws with types of the unwritten laws and regulations, which varied in different district Kampung: different Kampung has different customary laws.

According to BAL, there are two different types of lands: titled land and state lands. The primary title holders can claim their first land certificate for ownership and the secondary titles such as, the right of exploitation, use, building, and collecting products from the forest areas. The right of ownership – called as Hak Milik – is the strongest secured right in Indonesia to protect their property. 'Hak Milik Adat' was legally defined as the customary tenure right which was stipulated in Basic Agrarian Law 1960 and was therefore regarded as the primary right in practice.

BAL regulated the allocation, protection of property and maintenance of land, water, space and natural resources. Pursuant to BAL, lands were regulated by central government and were required to go through legitimate acquisition process after land compensation for KIP. In this regard, central government took responsibility in processing land registration and appointing land officers called as Kantor Petanahan, which belonged to Badan Pertanahan Nasional (BPN) as the central government organisation. Kantor Petanahan was in charge of the land law enforcement and

facilities including land, water, spaces and the natural resources associated with the land.

According to Article 3, as long as Adat culture still remains in Kampung, the state interest should be harmonised with that of respective Kampung with different culture and customary laws. Hak Ulayat as customary rights were applied to customary land for use-right and Adat community has been allowed to adjust to national property right of communal property. This means that this communally-owned land based on Adat law has been acknowledged under the national Basic Agrarian Law, but customary laws shall not block the legal effect of the Agrarian Law for national development. According to the Act No.5 of 1960 BAL, 'Adat' principles are (i) it must be acknowledged by the state, and (ii) traditional ethnic group must contribute to the national development projects.

'The Agrarian law which applies to the earth, water and air space is Adat law as far as it is not in conflict with the national and state's interests based on the unity of the Nation, With Indonesian socialism as well as with the regulations stipulated in this Act and with other legislative regulations, all with due regard to the elements based on the elements based on the religious Law.'²⁵⁾

Adat right has gradually been adapting itself to, or absorbed in, or replaced by the national law. It is because Suharto's national development strategy during the new order period has not fully consider local Adat laws and customs. Adat communal nature in Indonesia, made it was difficult for Kampung dwellers to understand individual titles. The government eventually admitted the existence of Hak Ulayat as the communal right for many decades. So, Hak Ulayat has not necessarily been registered. This kind of customary tenure right has not been

25) Basic Agrarian Law(1960), Act No.5

fully recognised by the state until they get a certification from the National Land Agency (NLA). Adat land is therefore required to be registered and certified to be assured as private land right in BAL. However, land certificate for Hak Ulayat have not been in wide use in most communities, because Kampung dwellers did not feel the need for registration and did not process the registration. Customary land usually have no problem in the title except for the land which has no title (interview with Prof. Iwan Rudiarto 13, April 2016, Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Diponegoro University) Despite the government tried to modify BAL over many years, the general framework and land administration system have not been changed at all. Customary rights continued to remain and most of lands have not retained formal titles. National development plans faced the challenges over modernising the land system in this respect.

Adat system is stipulated in Act No. 5 of 1999 Basic Forestry Law:

"As long as indigenous peoples still live in an area and their presence is recognized, they have the rights to: a) collect forest products to meet community's everyday needs; b) carry out forest management practices according to customary laws which do not conflict with official legislation; and c) receive reimbursement to improve their well-being."²⁶⁾

This codified law proved that Indonesia adopted Adat law to protect traditional rights of both present and future generation of indigenous people. After all, different types of land tenure rights were allowed to exist in Kampung including: (i) formal land tenure, (ii) semi-formal tenure, and (iii) informal tenure.

(i) Formal tenure holders have a property title to their land recognised by BAL 1960.

26) Basic Forestry Law(1999), Act No.5

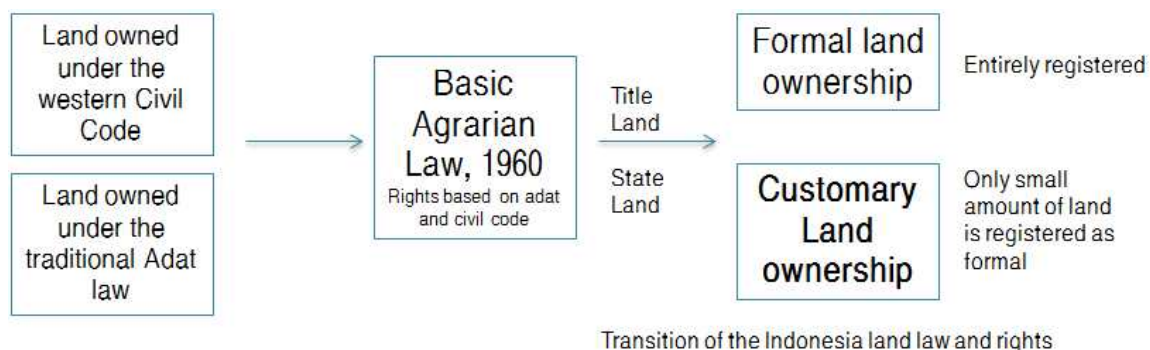
(ii) Semi-formal tenure was permitted in Kampung, so that traditional customary right could be exploited and used.

(iii) For informal tenure, the status of customary law was changed by the unification effort by the government. Although *de facto* exists under the evidence by the many generations (e.g. evidence can be provided by the heads of villages), lands – which have not been registered as the ‘Hak Milik’ right – are considered as a national estate and may be disposed of by the government of Indonesia.

Despite all the efforts by the government, Indonesia is not considered to successfully integrate their various land-related laws including Adat law and statutory laws into a holistic legal system reflected in existing social and cultural. As a result, slum upgrading projects like PNPM/CKIP were not able to meet up internationally standardised practices of land registration due to the unresolved issues on the existence of customary ownership land. In the context of land ownership affected by culture of Indonesia, people usually preferred leasehold rights to freehold rights. Private ownership of registered plots within urban areas can invalidate the land-use rights of squatter families, even though these rights are vested by a chief who has allocated the land for private use. They do not necessarily own registered lots because the government provided some kind of leasehold rights in accordance with according to laws as long as they exist in Indonesian land. Communal land laws continue to exist and occupation by squatter families cannot be said to be wholly illegal.

This leasehold of Indonesia can refer to ‘Hak Ulayat’ right which belongs to indigenous community and its existence was recognised by the government. This rights have been applied to across the Indonesian territory pursuant to Indonesian constitution.

Figure 3-4 shows the transition of the Indonesia land laws and rights.



[Figure 3-4] Transition of the Indonesia land law and rights

4. Characteristics of Kampung Community

1) A Sense of Community Building and Physical Features

Kampung has not been planned in a modern way, but often laid out according to custom. Though houses are scattered at random in the Kampung area without reference to building guidelines, there were nevertheless customary rules to be followed. Kampung usually has rural features with their spaciousness, the abundance of plants and various animals, as well as low cost housing. Yet, there are also overcrowded urban Kampung with a high population density and less rural atmosphere. Kampung populations are diverse: a majority are vulnerable residents and middle-class people sharing the area account for relatively smaller numbers. Often they are ethnically mixed, though homogeneous ethnic Kampung also exist.

Both of rural and urban Kampung can be said to be an indigenous village with the following features: (i) not planned as a whole, but (ii) spontaneously evolved according to certain common practices, (iii) having low-rise buildings, (iv) with the lack of infrastructure and service provision, (v) with a high population density, and (vi) with a generally lower-class but the composition of different classes.

Physical features of Kampung can be described as follows:

Firstly, unlike other modern housing estate, the spatial pattern of Kampung has

been spontaneously formed with non-repeating houses and blocks on a formal main roads. This is because growth in village formation from construction to expansion depends largely on the economy conditions of the Kampung households. The organic evolvement uniquely created public open spaces and unintentional streets.

Secondly, Kampung has a large number of people within a limited land, and only small part of the land can be developed for public infrastructures and facilities.

Thirdly, unlike building in different villages, houses are heterogenous in terms of its sizes, floors, and room arrangement. Residents make use of the left extra space to run their small-scale businesses.

Fourthly, Kampung is lacking in provision of basic infrastructures and facilities like pipe water, sanitation, drainage, and health/education centers.

(1) Pathways/Alleys

The formation of Kampung has organic pattern and this create a dynamic and mixed-use public spaces like sitting areas, cafes and shops. Due to the limited spaces available in Kampung resident's house, they tend to make use of alleys and pathways for their household works like washing, cooking and resting. Therefore, Kampung pathways have been functioned as an infrastructure for circulation. It creates the diverse forms of community activities and lives in Kampung.



[Figure 3-5] Pathways/alleys

Source: Nick Devas(1980), Indonesia's Kampung Improvement Program



[Figure 3-6] public spaces

Source: Dwita(2001), 'Rukun and Gotong Royong', pp 119-134

(2) Public Baths and Toilets (MCKs)

According to Dwita(2001), more than 1/3 of people in Kampung are not allowed to have access to their own private bathrooms and shower rooms, and therefore have to be dependent on public facilities. This facility - called as Mandi-Cuci-Kakus(MCKs) - which is meant for shower and washing. MCKs are the common facility in Kampung which are shared between 10-20 households on daily basis for limited number of washing place available in Kampung.²⁷⁾

27) Dwita(2001), Rukun and Gotong Royong: Managing Public Places in and Indonesian Kampung



[Figure 3-7] Public washing place

Source: Dwita(2001), 'Rukun and Gotong Royong', pp 119-134

(3) Open spaces and parks

Many open spaces in Kampung mostly have been created and formulated with organic pattern in accordance with Kampung growth, The open spaces give great opportunity to dwellers to communicate with each other on a daily basis.

(4) Other public facilities

There are many public buildings and spaces such as a public meeting hall, religious praying room for Muslims, night security guards, health clinics and education center, and social activities are conducted in these areas on regular basis. People regularly meet at the public buildings and perform community festivals and events to celebrate important days.



[Figure 3-8] Public Buildings

Source: Dwita(2001), 'Rukun and Gotong Royong', pp 119-134

2) Community Organisation

Originally, Kampung is known to be located in rural area, with generally less educated and poor residents, compared to average urban dwellers. Rukun as the administrative neighbourhood settlement unit and Gotong Royong as a mutual helps are the fundamental instrument and way of living in Kampung which have been originated and evolved from traditional rural communities. According to observation of Patrick Guinness, Javanese Kampung community has maintained the Rukun culture and remain in harmony with different social classes²⁸⁾. Therefore, cooperative works have been recommended without any reward together with neighbours, which might otherwise be paid. This tradition has been conserved for a long time, even through some Kampung

28) Dwita(2001), Rukun and Gotong Royong: managing public spaces in an Indonesian Kampung

residents are becoming less interested in participating in such community activities and would prefer to pay for services.

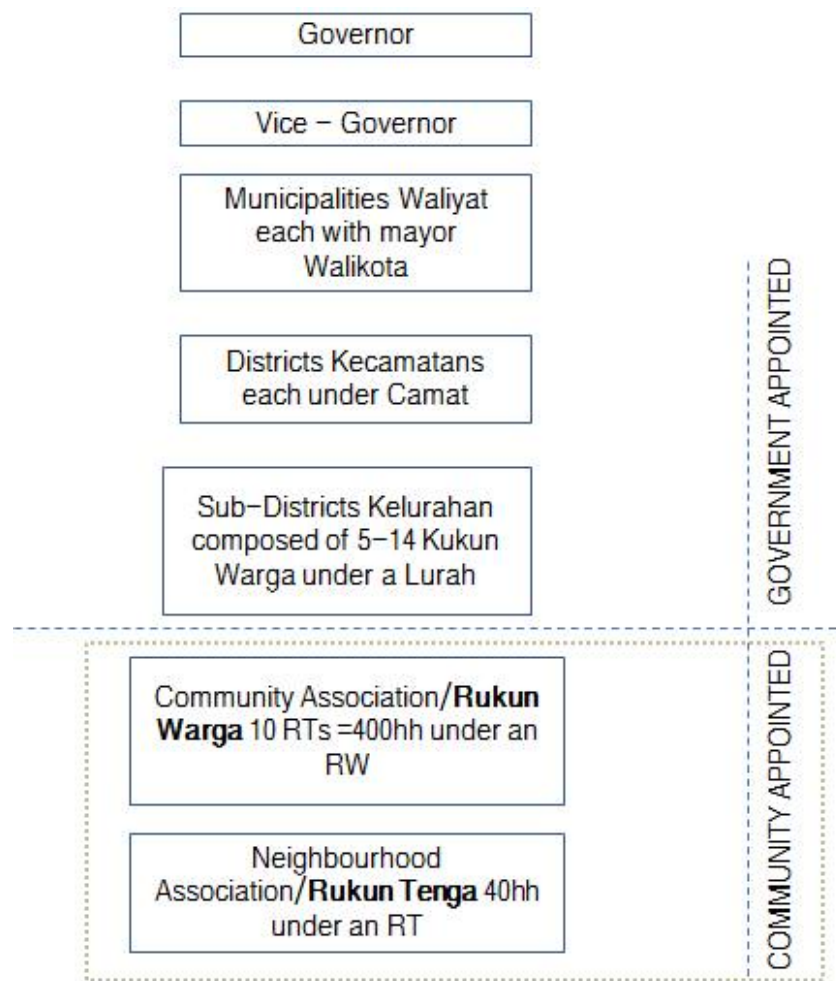
Kampung was usually built by skilled labours equipped with the difficult tasks like carpentry. Less-skillful workers can also contribute to Kampung as neighbourhood member. One example is that house owner in urban Kampung can seek the mutual help from old neighbours of the original villages.²⁹⁾

They have been conducting various communal activities including housing building and maintenance, religious festivals, funeral, wedding, Koran reading/recital groups, watching television, and rotating money association. As such, Kampung community could share many life events, work together and express their feelings among neighbours.

Rukun Tenga (RT) as the basic unit, contributes to maintain Kampung neighbourhood peaceful mostly by resolving social problems, whereas Rukun Warga (RW) acts as a representative organisation comprising RT and resolves community problems raised by RT mainly by traditional unanimous decision. RW is not intensive as RT, because head of RW does not know all the residents members intimately (see figure 3-9). Additionally, the autonomous organisation has worked effectively in defending their community during Japanese colonisation.³⁰⁾

29) Carl. V(1988), Meeting Shelter Needs in Indonesia, Spontaneous Shelters, p.g. 169

30) Wiryomartono(2014), Perspectives on Traditional Settlements and Communities. p.g.



[Figure 3–9] Kampung Administrative Structure in Jakarta

Source: K.I.P. Technical Unit: Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi (1974)³¹⁾

Community's mutual-help has been maintained with social activities such as (i) village cleaning, maintenance, and use, (ii) occasional gathering, (iii) festivals and events, and (iv) Koran-reading competition, while cells have normally been managed by married women. RT and RW play the role in registering and monitoring residents, collecting demographic and economic data, and even supporting government's national development. This included to establish infrastructure and manage social welfare

31) Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi(1974), KIP Jakarta report, p.g 26

services for Kampung dwellers. This kind of organisations are not governmental formal body and does not need to include civil servants. The members are elected by the Kampung residents who knows the area very well. In this way, national projects are able to be conducted in cost-effective way. Those who live close to each other for a very long time, have been conducting constant cooperation works, based on fundamental trusts and beliefs.

Jay(1969) studies that Rukun concept facilitated the collaboration with state organisations and Kampung³²⁾. Even if there are sacrifices by individuals members, their common goal can be achieved through collective action which glue them together. This family-oriented concept of Javanese culture influences on migration pattern as well. Since more occupational migrants move into the Kampung, they tend to go the places where have relatives or friends. They moved into existing Kampung at first as a guests, then perhaps rented a spaces to sleep, later bought rights of a tiny plot of land on which to build a small hut with their earnings, brought other family members from the village and gradually extended and improved the original hut into a proper Kampung house. The environmental conditions in Kampung are improved through constructing and making use of MCKs as public bathrooms, paving pathways, building houses, planting trees, and other physical developments.

Meanwhile, women tend to take care of community's health such as family planning clinics, HIV injection, training health care, and taking care of sick people and rotating money for credit using Arisan. RW and RT heads are elected based on their social status and merits, manage to finance the community, and sign a land-use contact. Therefore, women also contribute to the implementation of slum upgrading projects.

32) Jay(1969), Javanese Villagers: social relations in rural modjokiuto. Cambridge, pg.



[Figure 3-10] Gotong Royong tradition in Urban Kampung, [Figure 3-11]Communal Work in Kampung

Source: <http://blog.aseankorea.org/?p=680>



[Figure 3-12] RT head patrolling Kampung, [Figure 3-13] Communal Works for house foundation

Source: <http://cj.my/post/83557/residents-patrol-team-bid-to-curb-snatch-thefts/>

The sense of community is instrumental in daily survival for Kampung dwellers³³. This can be explained by the pattern of Kampung serves not only for residential uses, but also occupational uses. Sillas(1992) and Deobele(1987) indicated complex multi-layered possessory rights³⁴: In Kampung, different types of tenure are applied to the same plot of land which makes it very complex. For example, the person with a

33) Guinness(2015), Religion, Community and Conflict in Indonesia: Reflections on Chris Duncan's Violence and Vengeance. p.g. 16:1

34) Sullivan(1992), Local government and Community in Java: an urban case-study

tenure rights of the state land lend their land to other person to build a house on it. Different person can also rent one or several room in the same house, and different person who rent a room, can conduct their own business. This means that different types of tenure system in each layers can generate different source of income.³⁵⁾ As slum upgrading project is proceed with, it would create more pressure to increase benefits and incomes by commercial activities or business. Their livelihood and source of incomes are generated within a Kampung and the community security is therefore required to be securer and stronger.

3) Key Characteristics of Kampung Community

In summary, there identified key strengths in Kampung community as follows: (i) the network of flexible and adaptive informal economic ties, enabling to continue to provide a financial support through credit institutions such as the Arisan; (ii) cultural spirituality which promotes understanding and tolerance among residents; (iii) mixture of homeogenous groups with the spirits of mutual helps, based on faith and trust.

These kind of characteristics have direct impact on Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) in Indonesia. Most importantly, social ranking system is hierarchy, which is composed of Kampung elite members and lower income groups. Kampung elites dominate Kampung by service provider rather than authoritative power. Kampung residents are willing to contribute to community life partly because the Kampung provides them with security to pursue their business as well as daily life.

Owing to dramatic improvement of service provision of services and infrastructure, residents could live in pleasant surroundings Women – usually married women– played an important role in arranging social for their family.

35) Deobele(1987), The Evolution of concepts of urban land tenure in developing countries

IV. Characteristics of Slum Upgrading Programmes

1. Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP) 1969–1994

KIP was initiated by the government of Indonesia through the collaboration with self-help community planning, with particular emphasis on the provision and improvement of basic physical and social infrastructures. From the perspective of socio-economy, KIP is intended to (i) improve standard of living conditions for slum dwellers and (ii) prevent spread of disease and fire in Kampung.³⁶⁾ The largest slum upgrading projects have been conducted in Indonesia as part of KIP since colonial periods. This KIP emphasises maximising coverage for the poorest neighbourhood with basic minimum services. The pilot KIP was implemented in Semarang and Surabaya in 1920s and 1930s during the Dutch colonial period.

"This was for political and hygienic reason. Dutch colonial tried to dominate Kampung villages through KIP and suppress people as well as opposition party. Also, houses for Dutch and business building districts were close to Kampung villages and they tried to prevent from epidemic diseases for health reasons"(interview with Johan Silas, architect and direct manager of the project LPP, 21, May 2016)

Its objectives³⁷⁾ were to:

- (i) enhance the standard of living conditions and physical environments.
- (ii) increase the productive residents who can contribute to country's economic development.
- (iii) benefit the poorer people as much as possible within the limited period of time and resources.

36) Devas(1980), Indonesia's Kampung Improvement Program: An evaluative case study. pp. 286:19–36.

37) Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi(1974), KIP Jakarta report

- (iv) minimise disruption of slum dweller's social and economic activities
- (v) contributed to mobilise the resident's self-help activities and community cooperation within a village.
- (vi) aim to be achieved to the extent possible, through the provision and upgrading of the residents's basic physical and social infrastructure.

1) Historical Timeline of Slum Upgrading

After World War II ended, the idea of self-help and 'site and service' project – put forth by John Turner and W. Mangin – the basic guidances of World Bank and UN-HABITAT's concept. This aimed to solve the urban poor's housing problems by (i) acknowledging existing residency rights of the squatters and (ii) supplying basic services like water, sewage, and drainage to the squatter areas³⁸). In order to successfully achieve the above-mentioned goals, the government is required to provide training programme and basic shelter services. Once they are established, the security of tenure would stimulate community residents to upgrade their houses.

During President Suharto's New Order (1966–1998) period, he tried to promote economic development without proceeding with democracy. In order to initiate the national-wide economic development, the government conducted 5-year Replita projects to upgrade infrastructure and the services of the urban neighbourhoods³⁹). KIP had been implemented during Replita I, II, II (Replita 1: 1969–74, Replita 2: 1974–79, Replita 3: 1979–1984) for poverty alleviation scheme as part of the economic development movement in Indonesia for slums. The first pilot project was carried out in Jakarta in 1969 with assistance from city governments, with focus on providing basic public goods and services including paved roads, drainage, water supply, public toilets and

38) Milone(1993), Kampung Improvement in the small and medium sized cities of central Java. p.p 5: 74 - 94.

39) World Bank(1995), Indonesia Impact Evaluation Report. p.g. 21

washing facilities for sanitation, public lighting and clinics. According to KIP Project Benefit Evaluation Report, produced by Kuswardono (1997)⁴⁰⁾, KIP had effect on 20% of whole of Indonesian's population. Later, KIP expanded into other mega cities like Bandung and Surabaya under the direction of the Ministry of Public Works. The central government decided Kamung to be upgraded and local governments planned out detailed layout of the project. After 10 years of KIP implementation, its characteristics have become changed in such way that its goals of KIP have become broader and KIP has been implemented cost-effectively.

“The basic of KIP was to improve basic infrastructure and services. Land right was given ad-hoc to achieve improved settlements locally” (interview with Johan Silas, 21, May 2016)

For the second phrase of Replita II (1974–1989), KIP focused on the renovation of housing to provide a better and healthier living conditions: the aims were to (i) provide shelter for all and (ii) incorporate KIP into 'Urban Development Project' and 'Integrated Urban Infrastructure Development Projects' (see table 4-1).⁴¹⁾ The initiatives were funded by the World Bank. Towards the end of Repita II, the Indonesian government started conducting survey with a view to identifying conditions urban poor districts in large cities like Surabaya and Bandung (e.g. the lack of adequate local infrastructure services like water and sewage). Indonesian government implemented KIP to enhance quality of physical conditions by providing public toilets, waste management system, footpaths and roads. Also, community programmes were design to build health clinics and education centres. These programmes are expected to

40) Kuswardono(1997), Project Benefit Evaluation Report: The Case of Kampung Improvement Program, pp. 44–69

41) World Bank(1995), Indonesia Impact Evaluation Report: Enhancing the Quality of life in Urban Indonesia: The legacy of Kampung Improvement Program. pp. 11–18

improve Kampung dweller's health and productivity in a long-term.

With financial assistance from World Bank, KIP was implemented to improve physical conditions by providing secondary roads, footpaths, drainage canals, water taps, public toilets, electricity network and solid waste management. It also improved existing housing stock to create, build, and improve small temporary health clinics, religious and primary education facilities. The programme is expected to have a long-term broader impacts on public health so as that Kampung residents' health can be improved.

Replita III highlighted the engagement of the urban population into the projects through the full involvement of urban community in the entire process of planning, implementation, monitoring, maintenance and development of the programme. The projects were evolved from basic technical training in KIP I and II to a community-based economic programme activities. KIP III covered various activities such as enterprise development, product marketing and skills training such as driving, sewing, molding, printing, electronics and etc.

Potential Kampung were selected in accordance with several criteria such as its environmental conditions, highest density, oldest ages, proximity to existing infrastructure networks, and willingness and interest of the community in a KIP. Proposal from local village administration level were submitted to and evaluated by the steering committee of the Kampung areas.

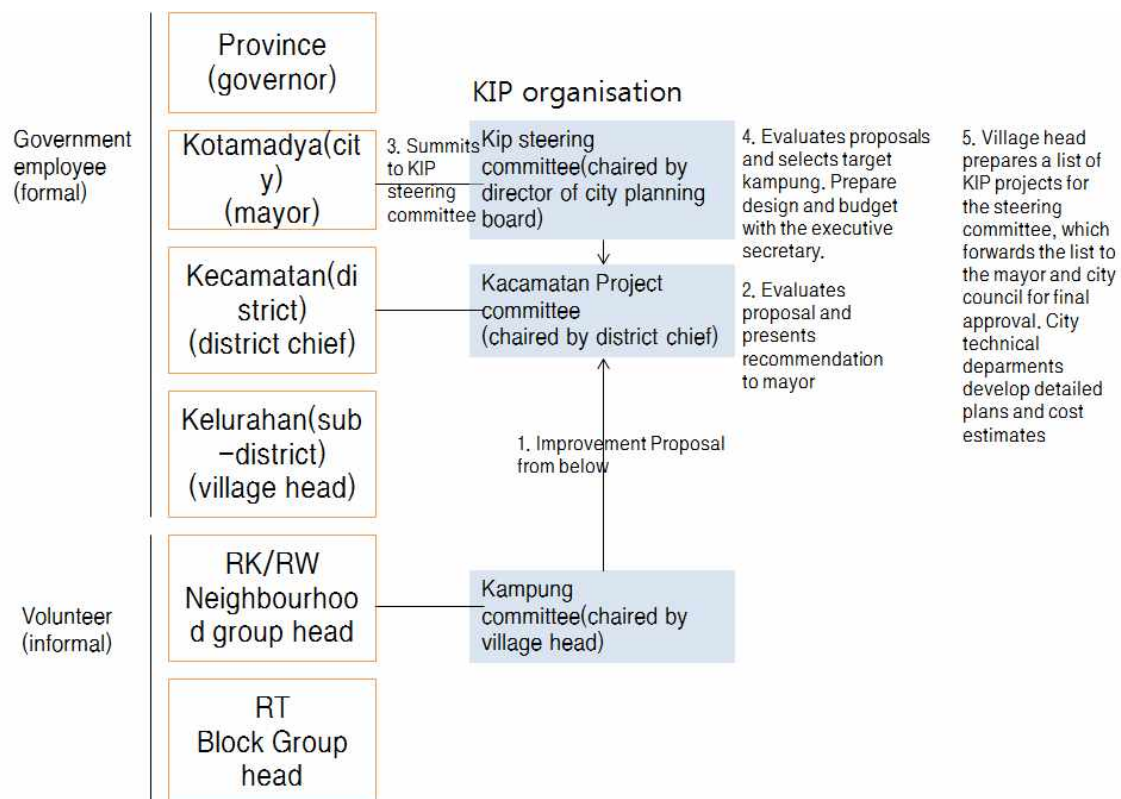
The KIP succeeded in improving 50,000 hectares and benefited 15 million people as a result from 1969 to 1989. Its goal were not only to improve public health and infrastructure, but also implementing policy for alleviating poverty. However, they could not solve problems of tenure security.⁴²⁾

42) Haryatiningsih(1996), Evaluation of the Sanitation Component of KIP III, UNDP/World Bank Water and Sanitation Program, p.g. 2.

2) KIP Organisation

Each community organised and formulated (i) KIP Steering Committee, (ii) Project Committee and (iii) Kampung Committee. Existing financing schemes were supplemented by new budget allocations in order to spread KIP to all designated urban growth centres, and integrate existing Kampung into a city structure.⁴³⁾ There can be found a hierarchy structure in KIP organisation. Relatively lower level officers in the government's hierarchical structure, were appointed as the head of urban district or head of an urban sub-district.

43) Carl V. Patton(1988), Spontaneous Shelter, p.g. 43



[Figure 4-1] Indonesia's Administrative Group and KIP organisation I

Source: Cal. V. Patton(1988), spontaneous shelter. p.g. 185

Once KIP project was led by the district chief at Kelurahan level, the officials can force village residents to follow the government decision. However, existence and continuity of cultural traditions in a village were able to formulate their own social organisation, cooperation groups and leadership patterns. The Kampung residents usually have inter-connection with the entire urban system through an often extensive network of hierarchical ties. They could utilise communal labour to carry out physical project for Gotong Royong. This way allowed project cost to be cut dramatically (e.g., in half). Because Kampung consisted of community organisation groups, their social cohesiveness and richness of cultural tradition of inhabitants were so strong as to carry out national project.

3) Physical Improvement Programmes

In KIP, infrastructure improvement was related with their commercial activities in such way that women were usually selling petty products in front of their houses. Most of the project was to improve physical infrastructure of the village such as (i) road and footpaths; (ii) drainage; (iii) sanitary facilities; (iv) waste management. They also built health and school facilities, which later on were incorporated in the national programmes/projects (interview with Johan Silas, 21, May 2016).

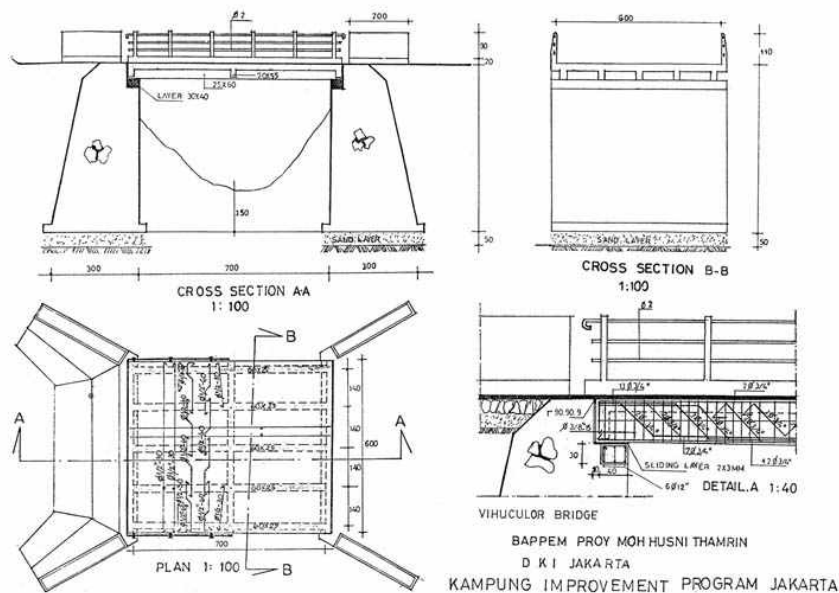
Project Item	Standards in the first project	Standards planned in the second project
Roads	75m/ha of paved roads	All dwellings 100m maximum from a one-way road and 300m from a two-way road
Footpaths	132m/ha of paved footpath	Paved footpaths to within 20m of every dwelling not located on a road
Drainage	Secondary drainage along roads and footpaths and primary drains as required	Secondary drainage along roads and footpaths and primary drains as required
Water	Connection to city main supply or tube-wells as appropriate. Public standpipes provided on basis of 1 per 4 ha.	Connection to city main supply or tube wells as appropriate. Public standpipes provided on basis of a minimum of 1 per 5 ha in North; 1 per 20 ha in South and East; 1 per 8 ha in West; and 1 per 3 ha in Central Jakarta. Individual connections where feasible.
Human Waste Disposal	One public toilet with 12 seat capacity and washing facilities to serve an area of 11 ha. Provision of 4 vacuum trucks.	For each dwelling one toilet with pit privies where feasible; otherwise one toilet for multiple dwellings depending on local conditions
Solid Waste Disposal	One garbage box to serve 65 dwellings; one garbage truck per 150,00 population.	One garbage box to serve about 65 dwellings; one garbage truck per 150,000 population(Jakarta) and one tractor with 4 trailers per 40,000population(Surabaya)
Schools	Provision of 98 elementary schools and education center in the two-year program.	Provision of 90 elementary schools and education center in the three-year program in Jakarta to raise attendance level from 40% to 75%; 15 primary schools in Surabaya to cover 60% of the school age children in the kampung
Health Clinics	Provision of 43 health clinics in the two-year	Provision of 45 health clinics and 30 health offices in the three-year program in Jakarta

	program	
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[Table 4-1] Kampung Improvement Design Standards I

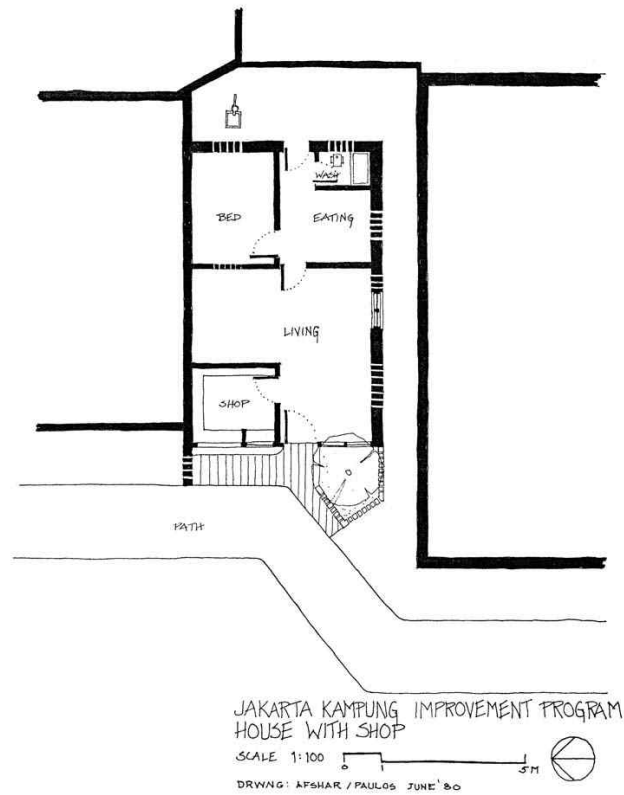
Source: K.I.P. Technical Unit: Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi (1974), KIP Jakarta report. pg. 24

PEMBUANGANTINJA PADA PROYEK MHT. 77/78.								
TYPE	KRITERIA / STANDART	KODE UMUM	KODE SPESIFIKASI DAN PENJELASAN			KET.		
FASILITAS JAMBAAN	JAMBAAN PRIBADI	A	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	Setu atau 10 rumah bisa menggunakan 1 jamban. Untuk 10-15 rumah, 2 jamban. Untuk 16-20 rumah, 3 jamban. Untuk 21-30 rumah, 4 jamban. Untuk 31-40 rumah, 5 jamban. Untuk 41-50 rumah, 6 jamban. Untuk 51-60 rumah, 7 jamban. Untuk 61-70 rumah, 8 jamban. Untuk 71-80 rumah, 9 jamban. Untuk 81-90 rumah, 10 jamban. Untuk 91-100 rumah, 11 jamban.
	1.JAMBAAN / 1RUMAH							
FASILITAS JAMBAAN BERSAMA	1 jamban/3-5rumah 2 jamban/6-10rumah 3 jamban/10-15 rumah. dst.	B	B1. DENGAN 1 KAKUS B2. DENGAN 2 KAKUS B3. DENGAN 3 KAKUS. D.S.T.			B4. DENGAN 4 KAKUS B5. DENGAN 5 KAKUS B6. DENGAN 6 KAKUS B7. DENGAN 7 KAKUS B8. DENGAN 8 KAKUS B9. DENGAN 9 KAKUS B10. DENGAN 10 KAKUS B11. DENGAN 11 KAKUS B12. DENGAN 12 KAKUS B13. DENGAN 13 KAKUS B14. DENGAN 14 KAKUS B15. DENGAN 15 KAKUS B16. DENGAN 16 KAKUS B17. DENGAN 17 KAKUS B18. DENGAN 18 KAKUS B19. DENGAN 19 KAKUS B20. DENGAN 20 KAKUS B21. DENGAN 21 KAKUS B22. DENGAN 22 KAKUS B23. DENGAN 23 KAKUS B24. DENGAN 24 KAKUS B25. DENGAN 25 KAKUS B26. DENGAN 26 KAKUS B27. DENGAN 27 KAKUS B28. DENGAN 28 KAKUS B29. DENGAN 29 KAKUS B30. DENGAN 30 KAKUS B31. DENGAN 31 KAKUS B32. DENGAN 32 KAKUS B33. DENGAN 33 KAKUS B34. DENGAN 34 KAKUS B35. DENGAN 35 KAKUS B36. DENGAN 36 KAKUS B37. DENGAN 37 KAKUS B38. DENGAN 38 KAKUS B39. DENGAN 39 KAKUS B40. DENGAN 40 KAKUS B41. DENGAN 41 KAKUS B42. DENGAN 42 KAKUS B43. DENGAN 43 KAKUS B44. DENGAN 44 KAKUS B45. DENGAN 45 KAKUS B46. DENGAN 46 KAKUS B47. DENGAN 47 KAKUS B48. DENGAN 48 KAKUS B49. DENGAN 49 KAKUS B50. DENGAN 50 KAKUS B51. DENGAN 51 KAKUS B52. DENGAN 52 KAKUS B53. DENGAN 53 KAKUS B54. DENGAN 54 KAKUS B55. DENGAN 55 KAKUS B56. DENGAN 56 KAKUS B57. DENGAN 57 KAKUS B58. DENGAN 58 KAKUS B59. DENGAN 59 KAKUS B60. DENGAN 60 KAKUS B61. DENGAN 61 KAKUS B62. DENGAN 62 KAKUS B63. DENGAN 63 KAKUS B64. DENGAN 64 KAKUS B65. DENGAN 65 KAKUS B66. DENGAN 66 KAKUS B67. DENGAN 67 KAKUS B68. DENGAN 68 KAKUS B69. DENGAN 69 KAKUS B70. DENGAN 70 KAKUS B71. DENGAN 71 KAKUS B72. DENGAN 72 KAKUS B73. DENGAN 73 KAKUS B74. DENGAN 74 KAKUS B75. DENGAN 75 KAKUS B76. DENGAN 76 KAKUS B77. DENGAN 77 KAKUS B78. DENGAN 78 KAKUS B79. DENGAN 79 KAKUS B80. DENGAN 80 KAKUS B81. DENGAN 81 KAKUS B82. DENGAN 82 KAKUS B83. DENGAN 83 KAKUS B84. DENGAN 84 KAKUS B85. DENGAN 85 KAKUS B86. DENGAN 86 KAKUS B87. DENGAN 87 KAKUS B88. DENGAN 88 KAKUS B89. DENGAN 89 KAKUS B90. DENGAN 90 KAKUS B91. DENGAN 91 KAKUS B92. DENGAN 92 KAKUS B93. DENGAN 93 KAKUS B94. DENGAN 94 KAKUS B95. DENGAN 95 KAKUS B96. DENGAN 96 KAKUS B97. DENGAN 97 KAKUS B98. DENGAN 98 KAKUS B99. DENGAN 99 KAKUS B100. DENGAN 100 KAKUS		
FASILITAS MANDI M.C.K.	Temp 4 jamban untuk 50 rumah Temp 6 jamban untuk 75 rumah Temp 8 jamban untuk 100 rumah Temp 12 jamban untuk 150 rumah.	C	C4. 4 KAKUS+2MANDI. C5. 5KAKUS+3MANDI. C6. 8 KAKUS+4 MANDI. D.S.T.			C7. 10 KAKUS+6 MANDI. C8. 12 KAKUS+8 MANDI. C9. 15 KAKUS+10 MANDI. C10. 20 KAKUS+12 MANDI. C11. 25 KAKUS+15 MANDI. C12. 30 KAKUS+20 MANDI. C13. 35 KAKUS+25 MANDI. C14. 40 KAKUS+30 MANDI. C15. 45 KAKUS+35 MANDI. C16. 50 KAKUS+40 MANDI. C17. 55 KAKUS+45 MANDI. C18. 60 KAKUS+50 MANDI. C19. 65 KAKUS+55 MANDI. C20. 70 KAKUS+60 MANDI. C21. 75 KAKUS+65 MANDI. C22. 80 KAKUS+70 MANDI. C23. 85 KAKUS+75 MANDI. C24. 90 KAKUS+80 MANDI. C25. 95 KAKUS+85 MANDI. C26. 100 KAKUS+90 MANDI. C27. 105 KAKUS+95 MANDI. C28. 110 KAKUS+100 MANDI. C29. 115 KAKUS+105 MANDI. C30. 120 KAKUS+110 MANDI. C31. 125 KAKUS+115 MANDI. C32. 130 KAKUS+120 MANDI. C33. 135 KAKUS+125 MANDI. C34. 140 KAKUS+130 MANDI. C35. 145 KAKUS+135 MANDI. C36. 150 KAKUS+140 MANDI. C37. 155 KAKUS+145 MANDI. C38. 160 KAKUS+150 MANDI. C39. 165 KAKUS+155 MANDI. C40. 170 KAKUS+160 MANDI. C41. 175 KAKUS+165 MANDI. C42. 180 KAKUS+170 MANDI. C43. 185 KAKUS+175 MANDI. C44. 190 KAKUS+180 MANDI. C45. 195 KAKUS+185 MANDI. C46. 200 KAKUS+190 MANDI. C47. 205 KAKUS+195 MANDI. C48. 210 KAKUS+200 MANDI. C49. 215 KAKUS+205 MANDI. C50. 220 KAKUS+210 MANDI. C51. 225 KAKUS+215 MANDI. C52. 230 KAKUS+220 MANDI. C53. 235 KAKUS+225 MANDI. C54. 240 KAKUS+230 MANDI. C55. 245 KAKUS+235 MANDI. C56. 250 KAKUS+240 MANDI. C57. 255 KAKUS+245 MANDI. C58. 260 KAKUS+250 MANDI. C59. 265 KAKUS+255 MANDI. C60. 270 KAKUS+260 MANDI. C61. 275 KAKUS+265 MANDI. C62. 280 KAKUS+270 MANDI. C63. 285 KAKUS+275 MANDI. C64. 290 KAKUS+280 MANDI. C65. 295 KAKUS+285 MANDI. C66. 300 KAKUS+290 MANDI. C67. 305 KAKUS+295 MANDI. C68. 310 KAKUS+300 MANDI. C69. 315 KAKUS+305 MANDI. C70. 320 KAKUS+310 MANDI. C71. 325 KAKUS+315 MANDI. C72. 330 KAKUS+320 MANDI. C73. 335 KAKUS+325 MANDI. C74. 340 KAKUS+330 MANDI. C75. 345 KAKUS+335 MANDI. 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REHABILITASI MCK LAMA								
PIT PRIVY								



[Figure 4-2] Kampung Improvement Design Standards II

Source: K.I.P. Technical Unit: Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi (1974), KIP Jakarta report. p.g. 68



[Figure 4-3] Jakarta Kampung Improvement Program house with shop

Source: K.I.P. Technical Unit: Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi (1974), KIP Jakarta report. pg. 66



[Figure 4-4] Drainage canal and foot path: Before and After Intervention

Source: K.I.P. Technical Unit: Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi (1974), KIP Jakarta report. pg. 46



[Figure 4-5] Human waste disposal facilities. Before and after intervention (Public toilet with 12-seat capacity and washing facilities to serve an area of 11 hectare)

Source: K.I.P. Technical Unit: Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi (1974), KIP Jakarta report. pg. 46⁴⁴⁾

KIP does not seem to have components of direct housing assistance and stimulate individuals to upgrade their own homes in direct way as follows: (i) KIP provided basic paved access and drainage to get attraction of home improvement from owners; (ii) KIP's implementation assure de-facto tenureship for occupants; (iii) the prospect of increased property values further induced home improvements.

Its maintenance and use have been shared by the Kampung Committee and the relevant ministries of the central government. They are in charge of the maintenance of vehicular roads, schools, clinics and garbage disposal. Maintenance budget usually comes from village communal funds from Arisan and voluntary community funds. Kampung Committee takes responsibility to maintaining and repairing footpaths, drainage ditches, and MCKs. Individual households also are responsible for managing footpaths and sewage drains in front of their houses with mutual help from neighbourhoods (Gotong Royong).

The strong political commitment and community cooperation can be considered as

44) Ir. Darrundono and Pik Mulyadi(1974), KIP Jakarta report, p.g 48

one of success factors of Kampung Improvement Programme. Despite KIP success to achieve the objectives with relatively short term period, maintenance has still challenges over meeting social needs and coming up with large scale infrastructure project.

2. National Community Empowerment Programme (PNPM)

1) External Effect of World Bank

When examining development projects driven by the world bank, there has been policy shift changed its position from a promoter of neo-liberalism to the a knowledge bank whose main obligation is to disburse knowledge and provide technical advices to meet the needs of developing countries.⁴⁵⁾ This is mainly due to the failure of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) carried out by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Indonesia was supported by the World Bank and amount of fund was provided to implement KIP. KIP has been implemented by reflecting Washington Consensus. Political and social problems faced by slum upgrading are considered to be solved through the introduction of market-based mechanisms suggested by the Washington Consensus⁴⁶⁾. In the era of post Washington Consensus, World Bank started putting more weight on the social aspects and the empowerment of the poor. Bank has placed a political approach on its operation for poverty reduction, population growth, food security and cultural preservation.

The World Bank's directions on developing country's project was changed by James Wolfensohn, as the 9th president of the Bank, but it was Joseph Stiglitz, the former Chief Economist at the Bank, provided an intellectual rationale for such a reform. They suggested the importance of institutions and inclusive social development

45) Stiglitz(1998), More Instruments and Broader Goals: Moving Towards the Post Washington Consensus. p.g 18

46) op. cit.

agendas, marked by poverty reduction.⁴⁷⁾ Programme Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat/National Programme (PNPM) for Community Empowerment was considered to be influenced by the Stiglitz's new aid policy: (i) the comprehensive development; and (ii) Poverty Reduction Strategy. The Bank's neo-liberalism was transformed into the PNPM, focusing upon social capital. This is a bottom-up approach based on community development and participation. Indonesian government aimed to accomplish 'City without Slum' by 2020, based on Law No. 17 of 2007 which regards to National Long-Term Development Plan (2005–2025). Meanwhile, multi-lateral aid programmes have been initiated and assisted by various agencies such as international organisation like World Bank, non governmental organisation (NGO) and donor countries including Australian aid, DANIA (Denmark aid), UK aid, and USAID. Moreover, international efforts on protecting indigenous people's right could produce the international guidance and recommendation. One example is 'United Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007'.

Slums in developing countries have heterogeneous and complex characteristics, which possibly result in the exclusion of the poor from elite groups with higher-income and better-education. This unequal social structure allowed an elite community group to be in influential positions in community based organisations (CBO). UN-HABITAT annual report on slums (2008) suggested⁴⁸⁾: (i) effective partnerships with key stake-holders between public, private and community sectors in taking the role at the national and local levels in housing development; (ii) promotion of participatory planning, management and governance- effort; (iii) empowerment of local government through decentralisation effort; (iv) providing housing and land for

47) Choi(2016), Socializing Neoliberalism: A case study of the National Community Empowerment Program(PNPM) in Central Java, p.g. 90

48) UN-HABITAT(2008), Housing for All: The Challenges of Affordability, Accessibility and Sustainability. p.g 11

the poor; (v) reinforcement of finance system for housing and infrastructure; (iv) sustainability.

2) Context-Internal Effect of Institutionalisation

As institutions have dramatically been evolved over the past decade, local governments plays the instrumental major role in service and infrastructure provision. This has implemented by decentralisation policy since 2001 and driven since the fall of Suharto's New Order policy. Decentralisation policy transferred authorities from central to local government and these were given opportunity for local governments to initiate a nation projects. This institutional reform has invoked local and traditional culture for reinforcing inter-local cooperation between project manager and beneficiary stakeholders through decentralisation and democratisation.⁴⁹⁾

Most importantly, there has been economic crises in 1998 which affected many vulnerable people in poverty. In response, the Government of Indonesia committed poverty reduction strategy to: (i) enhance social protection programmes; (ii) improve access to basic services by the poor; (iii) empower community; and (iv) initiate inclusive development.

Legal framework was designed on the basis of (i) law No. 11/2009 on Social Welfare⁵⁰⁾ and (ii) Decree of the Coordinating Minister for Social Welfare No. 25/2007 on Guideline of PNPM Mandiri. The legal frameworks empowered interested parties involving in social welfare to sole the problems in direct way.

49) Hudaha, Firman, Woltjer(2014), Cultural Cooperation, institution building and metropolitan governance in decentralising Indonesia. p.g. 28

50) UNDANG-UNDANG REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 11 TAHUN 2009 TENTANG KESEJAHTERAAN SOSIAL.

3) Community-Driven Development

Indonesia has implemented a 'Community-Driven Development' approach over 15 years since KIP was completed after the fall of President Suharto. Urban poverty alleviation scheme has become comprehensive approach for building infrastructures and services in Kampung areas in terms of physical, social, economical, and environmental concept. The state started coordinating and collaborating with community-based organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations, local governments, and community members, pursuant to a new paradigm in slum upgrading projects. This community empowerment approach in slum upgrading project was taken as part of President Yuhoyono's national poverty alleviation project which was known as one of largest slum upgrading project in Asia. Indonesian government divided rural and urban areas for Kecamatan Development Program (KDP) between 1998-2007 and Urban Poverty Program (UPP) between 1999-2007, and launched its Programme Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri (PNPM Mandiri) on April 30 2007, which is translated as National Community Empowerment Programme.⁵¹⁾

KDP and UPP aimed to improve community empowerment for poverty reduction. The programme provided block grants funds directly to beneficiary communities and the community residents received funds and were allowed to decide their own development priorities. Projects have been planned, implemented and managed by communities in both rural and urban areas. This encourages marginal groups – including women, indigenous and poor.– to actively participate in the projects.

Millennium Development Goal Target 7.D aims to ensure environmental sustainability and improve slum conditions. This was aligned with 'Cities without Slums' initiatives by Cities Alliance found by the World Bank and UN-HABITAT, and has been expanded to 26 members. Members of the Cities Alliance included local

51) KDP transformed into PNPM-Rural in rural areas and UPP transformed into PNPM-Urban in urban areas.

authorities, governments and stakeholders with the following objectives to

(i) increase the level of participation of all community members in the development process. This particularly includes the poor, women, indigenous peoples, and other community members that to date have not fully benefitted from economic development initiatives;

(ii) improve the capacity of local community institutions by making them more representative and accountable than previously;

(iii) improve the capacity of local government agencies to provide public services to poor residents by making policies, programs, and budgets pro-poor;

(iv) increase the effectiveness of poverty reduction initiatives by creating or expanding synergy between the beneficiary community concerned, local government agencies, and other stakeholder in the development process. The latter includes non-government organisations, as well as other entities involved in economic development such as associations, university groups, and the media;

(v) improve the capacity of beneficiary communities, local government agencies and other stakeholder to reduce poverty at the local level; and

(vi) expand the use of information dissemination and communication technology in promoting economic development at the community level.

PNPM-mandiri was strongly influenced by these above objects.

'The approach in PNPM is for participatory planning. Community is assisted by facilitators to plan their area. Every Kampung has an organisation called 'badan keswadayaan masyarakat or community empowerment board consisting of youth in Kampung, representatives of women, elderly, and etc. They are all involved in the process, although in reality facilitators do most of the design and technical assistance' (interview with Issana who works for PNPM mandiri Perkotaan 20, April, 2016)

It has been proved by both interview and literature review that a rich variety of voluntary associations existed to serve as 'safety nets' in the village. For example, there are (i) financial services in the provision of cash using Arisan and (ii) a labour exchange programme based on the principle of mutual relationships by Gotong Royong.

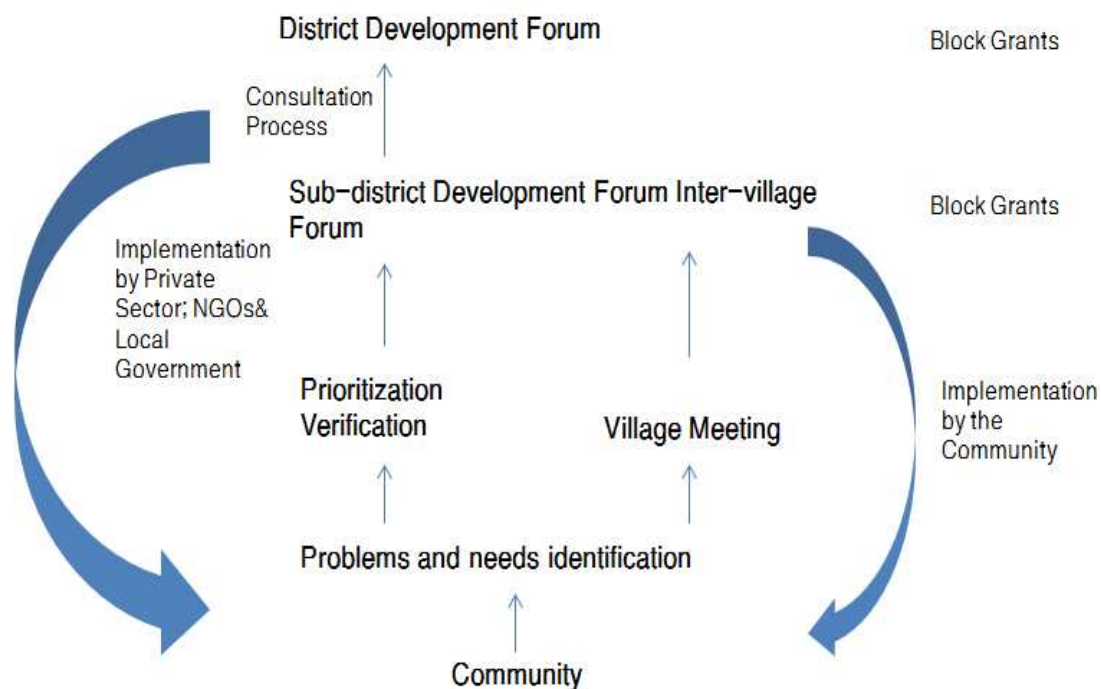
'PNPM works really well in rural areas as well as urban areas with strong community. An example is Kampung resided by original community. People tend to take care of the infrastructure if they have the sense of belonging and have ideas about what to do with their neighbourhood' (interview with Issana who works for PNPM mandiri Perkotaan, 20, April, 2016)

Anggun Trisnanto(2012) showed that in PNPM, has a number of types of programmes including: (i) PNPM rural (previously known as KDP), implemented in rural area; (ii) PNPM urban (previously known as UPP), implemented in urban area; (iii) PNPM Generasi (in line with Millenium Development Goals in 178 sub-districts in five provinces) to foster education and health; (iv) Green PNPM which supports natural resource management and renewable energy initiative; (v) PNPM-SADI, a programme for supporting agricultural development initiatives through giving technical assistance and funding for small scale of farmers; (vi) PNPM RESPEK, a special programme for Papua and West Papua provinces; (vii) PNPM for Aceh and Nias that suffered major damages from tsunami in 2004.⁵²⁾

Mechanism of PNPM-mandiri worked in the following process: (i) discussion (mushyawarah), (ii) proposing programmes, (iii) selecting proposals based on priority-ranking and (iv) then implementing the proposed programmes. In PNPM (see

52) Anggun Trisnanto(2012), The Indonesian National Program for Community Empowerment(PNPM)-Rural: Decentralisation in the Context of Neoliberalism and World Bank Policies. p.g. 4

figure 4-6), villagers used to have community forums and meetings at their community building to identify the needs of their communities and determine as to what should take priority. After that, they propose programme that they want associated with infrastructure, health and education, and micro-loans. When they decide particular programme, the village head submits to the sub-district government in the Kerulahan level and they hold an inter-village forum where representatives from each village discuss and decide which proposals will be funded. This inter-competition process can encourage village's participation. The government gave subsidy, whileas the villagers used to contribute to Kampong in providing their free labour in return, during KIP implementation in New Order era,



[Figure 4-6] PNPM organisation

Source: Choi(2016), Socialising Neoliberalism⁵³⁾

53) Choi(2016), Socialising Neoliberalism: A Case Study of the National Community Empowerment Program in Central Java. p.g. 105



[Figure 4-7] Community member presenting community plan

Source: PNPM-Urban(2013)⁵⁴⁾

[Figure 4-8] Women's Skill Training Programme

Source: PNPM-Urban(2013)⁵⁵⁾

PNPM provides Kelurahan block grants to municipal governments for establishing basic infrastructure, social assistance for extreme poor, and financial schemes including micro funds to start their small businesses.⁵⁶⁾ Provision of block grants (see table 4-2) directly to villages, also encourages residents to implement their projects in democratic way. According to (figure 4-6), residents identifies problems and needs, and RT/RW leaders decides type of programme (see table 4-3), and sub-district government directly provides block grants to the community. PNPM highlights to build self-management capacities by educating and training people how to identify the needs of the village and find solutions by themselves in the process of implementing development programmes.

Funding Source	Sectoral Focus
PNPM Rural	Infrastructure, credit
PIK (district)	Infrastructure

54) Evaluation of the Urban Community Driven Development Program:

PNPM-Urban(2013) p.g. 7

55) Evaluation of the Urban Community Driven Development Programme :

PNPM-Urban(2013) p.g. 17

56) Evaluation of the Urban Community Driven Development Program:

PNPM-Urban(2013). pg. 3

PPIP (PNPM for rural infrastructure-national)	Infrastructure
SIMANTRI (province)	Integrated farming
Bedahrumah (home rehabilitation) (province)	Home rehabilitation for the poor
BLM Tani (district)	Agriculture
BLM Pemuda (district)	Arts for youth
PID (district)	Infrastructure, capital for economic activities
KOPWAN (district)	Credit cooperative for women
JASMAS(district)	Infrastructure
PKH (national)	Conditional cash transfer program (household)
BUMDES (district and province)	Conditional cash transfer program (household)
BUMDES (district and province)	Capital for village enterprise
PNPM Generasi (national)	Conditional cash transfer program (community-based)
PAMSIMAS (national)	Water and sanitation facilities
Baruga Sayang	Community information center
GERBANGSADU (province)	Infrastructure, capital for credit by village enterprise

[Table 4-2] Development of facilitators and funding source

Source: Asian Development Bank(2016)⁵⁷⁾

Type of Programme	Restore the spirit of commu- nity feeling	Constru- ction and Basic needs	Educati- on, employ- ment and training	Health	Infrastr- ucture	Micro-c redit for entrepre- neurship
Rural PNPM Mandiri: Increase community participation in local development	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

57) Asian Development Bank(2016), Toward mainstreaming and sustaining Community-Driven Development in Indonesia. pg. 34

P2PN Rural PNPM: poverty reduction project in rural areas.	✓	✓			✓	
Agribusiness PNPM Mandiri/Smallholder Agribusiness Development Initiated: targeted for poor farmers	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Smart and healthy generation PNPM targeted for mothers and children	✓			✓		
Rural neighbourhood independence targeted to improve well being and employment	✓		✓			
Participatory Development System Programme(P2SPP) targeted for participatory development systems	✓		✓		✓	
Strategic Village Development Planning targeted to restore gotong royong communities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Urban PNPM Mandiri	✓				✓	
Rural Infrastructure PNPM Mandiri	✓	✓			✓	✓
Regional Development of Socio-economic Infrastructure(PISEW)			✓			
Provision of safe drinking water for communities(PAMSIMAS)		✓				
Disadvantaged and Special Areas	✓	✓			✓	✓

PNPM-Mandiri/accelerating the development of disadvantaged areas(P2DTK) to improve social and economic growth						
Marine and Fisheries PNPM Mandiri(PNPM Mandiri-KP)			√			
Tourism PNPM-Mandiri		√				√
Housing and Settlement PNPM-Mandiri	√			√		

[Table 4-3] Type of PNPM programme

Source: Asian Development Bank(2016) and edited by author

4) Participation and Empowerment

Most residents participated in the programmes and contributed to the implementation of the projects by providing labour or building materials. Decision making was done by Swadaya traditional approach, meant for 'willingness of community help'. Nonetheless, final decision used to be made by the leaders and often elite members.

'The ordinary people possibly have a limited understanding of what participation in the PNPM involved.' (interview with Issana, PNPM-rural civil servants, 13 April 2016)

Choi(2016), pointed out that the village leaders are involved in decision making process.⁵⁸⁾ This can be explained by neo-liberal market mechanism that requires

58) Choi(2016), Socializing Neoliberalism: A case study of the National Community Empowerment Program(PNPM) in Central Java, p.g. 114

competition for funding. Also, hierarchy of Kampung indicated elite model, PNPM encourages the participation of villagers to convert existing mutual relationships into commitment to the village development programme and obligate people to engage in community development projects. They believe that village leaders have understanding as to how to run development programmes.⁵⁹⁾

3. Comprehensive Kampung Improvement Programme (CKIP)

As Surabaya and Jakarta initiated KIP, Indonesia has gained fame on slum upgrading mission. This was enabled through comprehensive KIP (1998–2008) benefited from a history of good local governance. Collaboration between/among the local government and the city planning department, and the Laboratory for Housing and Human Settlement (LPP: generates planning ideas for planners and local government). CKIP still has a hierarchical structure with the Camat as head of the district and Lurah as head of the subdistrict. World Bank's continuous funding facilitated more comprehensive approaches and manners than those of KIP. According to Mitlin (2008), CKIP contributed to empowering vulnerable Kampung residents and NGOs to implement inclusive social development as well as physical establishment through community based organisation (CBO).⁶⁰⁾

1) Community Based Organisation (CBO)

Whileas KIP was initiated across the Indonesian cities, CKIP was implemented in Surabaya only. CKIP has not only achieved physical improvements and health care, but also enhanced traditional and indigenous forms of Javanese style meeting using

59) Choi(2016), Socialising Neoliberalism: A Case Study of the National Community Empowerment Program(PNPM) in Central Java. p.g. 114

60) Mitlin(2008), Urban Poor Funds, p.g. 34

Musyawarah, mutual self-help communal activity through Gotong Royong, and volunteering activities by Kerha Bakti. In this way, people became more involved in the programmes and its maintenance and implementation would thereby be easier. However, community participation including marginalised people was negligible.⁶¹⁾

According to Ashok(2015), there are three types of CBOs in each Kelurahan – a Yayasan Kampung (Kampung Foundation group), Koperasi Serba Usaha (Business Cooperation group), and many Kelompok Swadaya Warga (KSW) as self-help groups.⁶²⁾

Firstly, the YK group is involved in planning, decision-making and managing stage by stage.

Secondly, the KSU's role was to manage micro-funding grant loans to Kampung dwellers.

Lastly, KSWs are CBOs who implement self-help initiatives are required to be approved by YK as Kampung Foundation group. YK organisation group has its own head, a treasurer, secretary, and its individual divisions and these people are appointed by community members using Musyawarah as traditional decision-making process. These self-organised groups have been managed by village elites with higher education level (see table 4-5).

Project Stage	Purpose/Activities
1. Community Socialisation	Gathering of familiar community groups and CKIP facilitator. They usually have similar needs and demands.
2. Community mapping	Community members identify community problems, needs and resources about physical, economical and social with guidelines given by RW.
3. CBO creation	CKIP facilitator and community members collaborate to create community based organisation groups(YK or KSU).

61) World Bank(1995), Enhancing the quality of life in urban Indonesia: The legacy of Kampung Improvement Program

62) Ashok(2015), Autonomous but constrained: CBOs and urban upgrading in Indonesia, p.g. 48: 8 - 20

4. CBO training	CKIP facilitator give instruction YK and KSU to manage microfinance and preparing reports for sub-district government body.
5. Arrange Self-help groups	YK and KSU creates self-help groups
6. Plan formulation	Development plan is initiated and meetings are held by traditional decision making process.
7. Plan Approval	Plan will be approved by planning department.
8. Fund Disbursement	Fund distributed for physical improvement and microfinance/revolving fund.
9. Implementation monitoring	KSU manages loan repayment; YK manages KSU; CKIP facilitator monitors everything
10. Evaluation reports	After monitoring process, the city needs to create evaluation reports on three objectives: (i) interim report on CBO group formation and a final report. CKIP facilitator combines all CBO reports for preparing final evaluation reports.

[Table 4-4] CKIP implementation stages

Source: Ashok(2015)⁶³⁾

Community Organisation	Purpose
Decision making(YK)	Responsible for overall management of the process
Finance managing task force(KSU)	Self-sustaining local co-operative group which manages micro-finance and fund and provides to community groups.
Implementation task force(KSW)	Consisted of 5-10 households in kampung with similar community member's needs at RT level.
Supervision Council	Responsible for monitoring activities.

[Table 4-5] Type of Community Organisation

Source: Ashok(2015)⁶⁴⁾

2) Micro-finance

Micro-finance and its networking in Indonesia is known as one of the world's

63) Ashok(2015), Slum upgrading with community-managed microfinance: towards progressive planning in Indonesia, p.p. 47: 256-266

64) Ashok(2015), Autonomous but constrained: CBOs and urban upgrading in Indonesia, p.p 48: 8 - 20

largest systems and are mostly involved with national banks of Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI). Arisan is the women's traditional association group for rotating savings and credit. This association groups have reduced poverty rates by supporting small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). CBO groups which manages revolving funds, follow Adat tradition which helps the poor communities not to lag the behind. This trust-based micro-finance system even creates stronger sense of community, in both rural and urban villages.

4. World Bank and Government of Indonesia

Owing to regional autonomy programme initiated by decentralisation, local government started getting more involved in land administration programme. The Indonesia's national wide Land Administration Project (LAP) supported by World Bank⁶⁵⁾ covered both rural and urban settlements in 1994. LAP was introduced to adopt market mechanism and accelerate land registration and property management as well as reduce social conflict on land rights. Small portions of un-sellable – or unregistered customary – lands were registered by third generation of the indigenous village family. However there are still large portions of unregistered land left in both rural and urban areas in Indonesia. Land and housing became the most important issue for the poor to have access to land for poverty reduction. Reerink(2011) identified that the benefits of titling and registration for the poor would increase local profits. This means that strengthening tenure security in slum upgrading could improve the living conditions for the poor because they are willing to invest in their home and their access to increase

65) UN-HABITAT reveals definition of slum upgrading projects which are: (i) provision of basic services; (ii) standard housing and adequate building structures; (iii) adequate housing density; (iv) healthy living conditions and locations; and (v) secure tenure and settlements. The recognition on importance of tenure security was raised by international bodies.

credit. Also, land titling would improve the institutional framework, so that National Land Agency (NLA) could manage the lands in systematic, efficient, and effective way.⁶⁶⁾ In spite of this, it was very difficult to cover all customary land in Indonesia, because land titling system is so difficult due to complex ownership as mentioned before.

It was observed that previous KIPs are not properly functioned to encourage Kampung and its residents to voluntarily process land titling. However, community-driven slum upgrading project in Indonesia admitted land titling of the formalisation of informal tenure rights, contributes to housing improvements and maintenance in Kampung. In order for the governments to ensure tenure security and increase in housing improvement for the poor, the land titling programme was required to be officiated in line with the formalisation of customary ownership.

66) Reerink(2011), Land titling, perceived tenure security, and housing consolidation in the Kampongs of Bandung, Indonesia, p.g. 21

V. Conclusion

1. Conclusion

The research found that Kampung Upgrading Programme in Indonesia has been affected by characteristics of community and land tenure ownership. Kampung has formed so spontaneously as to retain its long community tradition and custom such as Arisan and Gotong Royong. KIPs have been implemented to improve physical infrastructure and environment such as road, housing, and public facilities. However, KIPs have not covered land tenure issues as well as capacity building to ensure sustainable development. Afterwards, PNPM and CKIP have been initiated in the era of democratisation since 1998, but have not dealt with land tenure issues.

The research draws the following conclusions:

Firstly, dual land tenure system has been functioned even many twists and turns in Indonesia: Adat law as a land customary law coexists with statutory law in Indonesia.

Secondly, local government has potentials to initiate Kampung upgrading comprising physical improvement and social inclusion in parter with spontaneous Kampung. There has been power shift from central government to local government as a result of political reformation and demonstration.

Thirdly, though international organisations such as world bank contributed to suggest macro indicators and policy guidances for slum upgrading, they are unlikely to develop the implementation process. Policy implementation process is of importance and village community is thus required to play the leading and/or cooperative role in implementing Kampung upgrading. Even though international organisations – such as UN-HABITAT and World Bank– have developed various policy, practices, guidance of slum upgrading for planning, criteria, evaluation, and case study, these outputs and/or deliverable cannot be applied to all the cases. From the implementation perspective,

process is required to be more highlighted in such way to engage village community.

Lastly, a village governance system at practical and detailed level, needs to be designed for developing countries to implement their slum upgrading. In the case of Indonesia, Kampung has acted – will act – as major key initiator to implement slum upgrading. However, different countries have their own particular conditions and situations such as land size, population, economic development, political regime, international trends and so on. Although policy recommendations by international organisations would be useful for developing countries, but cannot be all in one. A village governance system in policy implementation process should be more emphasised than policy itself.

2. Limitation

Limitations of the research are as follows:

(i) Several representative areas such as Jakarta and Surabaya were selected and Kampung located in another areas were excluded in the research; and

(ii) The research was mainly conducted through experts associated with Kampung in Indonesia. Insufficient research resources made it difficult to conduct the survey from the perspective of beneficiaries in KIP. The research limitation is the lack of cross-check from both supplier and demander sides.

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[Appendix I]

Questionnaire

Name:
Age:
Nationality:
Occupation (please write in detail please):
Relation to KIP e.g. technical manager, government worker, RW/RT head(only if you are involved in):

Hello. My name is Kyung Hwangbo, studying urban and regional planning at Seoul National University, South Korea. My biggest interest is to find out characteristics of Kampung Improvement Programme in Indonesia focused on customary land ownership Kampong with a variety of traditional cultures and strong community feeling such as Gotong Royong and Arisan. I believe that Indonesia has great value of community feeling from the colonial period, especially in Kampung areas where their livelihood is occurring in terms of residential and commercial uses. Therefore, KIP was strongly influenced by their existing characteristics of Kampong. My main task is to evaluate Indonesia's various slum upgrading projects such as PNPM and NUSSP initiated by many stakeholders as well as the government till now.

I am looking forward to your valuable responses. Many thanks.

GENEAL IDEA OF KAMPUNG IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMME

1. Have you worked for the government when KIP initiated?

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2. Do you believe self-help approach was successful in Indonesian slum? And why do you think Indonesian government adopted self-help methods rather than

eviction/demolition and resettlement of slums?

3. Can you describe the characteristics of customary Kampung in Indonesia in view of culture, tradition and their influence in KIP?

4. Why do you think Kampung has strong community feeling?

5. It is understood that KIP has been implemented as part of the 5-year Replita programmes for more than 15 years.

Can you explain the historical changes of slum upgrading projects in Indonesia?

How have slum upgrading projects been changed in Replita projects?

CHARACTERISTICS OF KIP

6. What kind of physical improvement has Indonesia achieved through KIP? Also, in terms of design features, who provided idea of improvement project?

7. What are the impacts of KIP on community? (please write in detail)

Physical	
Environmental	
Social/Community	
Economical	

8. In terms of construction and costs undertaken by local contractors, how has funding flowed from the local/central government to construction contractors?

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9. It is believed that KIP took a top-down self-help approach initiated by central government and international organisations. Can you please tell me KIP process in detail including activities by organization and institutions and stakeholders involved? Also, how long has it taken to complete KIP?

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10. I believe there is great involvement between municipal government, university and residents of the Kampong. Have there been any conflicts during project implementation? If there is, what do you think main reasons that caused the conflicts?

11. Who designed house and chose materials for building house?

12. In terms of housing design provided by the technical managers or experts, How have they manage to understand local condition in Kampung? Such as flooding-prone areas, geographical difference.

13. After construction of physical improvement, how did maintenance and use were managed? Did strong community-feeling helped to manage facilities and infrastructures like roads and sewage?

14. Has KIP achieved to improve the quality of life and socio-economic conditions of the vulnerable group?

15. What are the attitudes of Kampong elite people in Kampung Upgrading Programme? (including mid-income families)

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LAND ISSUES

16. Has housing and land price been raised sharply after KIP was completed? What happened to illegal dwellers, tenant, and lease holders? Have they moved and resettled to another slum because they did not afford to pay those rent fees?

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17. I believe that characteristics of each Kampong are dependent on type of land tenure and land they live in. How has different types of land tenure affected the projects? (e.g., formal land tenure such as Hak Milik or customary land ownership) Also, can we apply one KIP approach to these different Kampongs?

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18. Was there land conflicts in building an infrastructure in front of their house? Because it means for project's benefit, must acquire their land for somehow. How have dwellers received compensation for national projects like KIP?

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19. 'In Indonesia, land tenure is biggest issue; because people are unlikely to

register their land due to its perception of land registration process is complex and expensive. In customary ownership land, they are not keen to convert their land into formal regularized land. Because their community feeling is so strong and they have already felt secure in their neighborhood, their willing to register is surprisingly low even after democracy'

Do you think KIP improved tenure security and influenced people to carry on their livelihood in Kampung? Have they been encouraged to obtain land certificate?

20. Land registration project like 'Land Administration Programme in 1994' improved land security of Indonesia. However, it happened in recent years after KIP was implemented. If this kind of land registration project occurred before KIP was undertaken, do you think KIP was able to achieve the goals more successfully?

NEGATIVE IMPACTS

21. In what ways KIP was not successful?

22. What happen to Kampong in present time, compared with problems in

previous KIP implementation? (in terms of physical facility, maintenance and community feeling, and etc)

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CURRENT SLUM UPGRADING PROJECTS

23. 'There has been community-driven slum upgrading approaches applied in Indonesia after democracy such as PNPM (Urban Poverty Project), and NUSSP. It is believed that Indonesia's approach has transferred from top-down approach to more 'bottom-up and community based projects.'

Can you please tell me characteristics of Indonesia's recent slum upgrading projects in this respect?

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And what are the impacts of 'community based project' ?

Physical	
Environmental	
Social/Community	
Economical	

[Appendix II]

Interview with subject matters experts

Name	Division	Institution	Position	Gender	Interview date
Johan Silas	Public	LPP	KIP/CKIP Project manager, architect	Male	21, May 2016
Iwan Rudiarto	Public/private	Dept of urban and regional planning at Diponegoro University Indonesia	Professor	Male	13, April 2016
Erna Wati	Public	Universitas Islam Indonesia Centre for local law development studies	Professor	Female	21, May 2016
Issana	Public	PNPM-mandiri	Civil servant	Female	20, April, 2016
Crystal	Public	PNPM-mandiri	Civil servant	Female	13, April 2016

요약(국문초록)

인도네시아 캉푹 환경개선 프로그램 특성 연구

Characteristics of Kampung Upgrading Programs in Indonesia

서울대학교 환경대학원

환경계획학과 도시및지역계획학 전공

황보경 Kyung Hwangbo

인도네시아 정부는 슬럼의 문제를 해결하기 위해 1969년 이후 ‘캉푹환경개선프로그램’을 추진하여왔다. 이 ‘캉푹환경개선프로그램’은 세계에서 가장 큰 도시형 ‘부지와 서비스 (Site-and Service) 프로그램’으로서 관습법적인 토지에 거주하는 지역 주민이 중심이 되어 추진되었다. 캉푹은 동남아시아에 위치한 국가들인 인도네시아, 말레이시아 및 브루나이에서 자연발생적으로 형성된 마을이라고 할 수 있으며 계획화된 법제와 규정이 없고 중앙정부차원의 서비스가 제공되지 않은 상태에서 점증적으로 성장을 하였다.

본 연구는 인도네시아 도심 지역이 직면하고 있는 토지소유권을 중심으로 슬럼개선 프로그램의 특징을 발견하는 것을 목표로 하고 있다. ‘부지와 서비스 (Site-and Service) 프로그램’이 인도네시아에 추진되면서 도심 지역은 전통적인 공동체의 정신이 남아 있고 관습적인 토지가 대부분의 마을공동체에서 존재하고 있으며, 마을지도자가 세금납부와 토지매매 영수증을 공증하면 마을 주민은 토지를 소유할 수 있었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 중앙 정부는 전통적인 공동체를 간과하고 마을지도자의 권위를 인정하지 않았다. ‘캉푹환경개선프로그램’을 위해 마을 토지를 정부에서 매입할 때 정부는 마을 주민의 토지점유권을 인정하지 않았다. 토지 소유권은 캉푹의 역사적 형성을 반영하고 있으며 이는 ‘캉푹환경개선프로그램’에 영향을 끼쳤다. 이에 따라 ‘캉푹환경개선프로그램’은 전통적인 가치가 캉푹 사회의 무형적인 규범으로 기능한다는

것을 반영하여 자조적인 역량을 강화하는 마을 공동체적인 접근방법이 요청된다.

이후 인도네시아에서는 토지자본주의가 도입되었고 민주주의도 진행되어 왔다. 분권화와 민주화 이후 월드뱅크에 의한 신자유주의로 정책변화가 있었다. 여기서 월드뱅크는 개발도상국가를 위해 지식을 전파하고 기술적인 도움을 제공하였다. 이에 개발도상국가에서는 기관형성과 가난을 극복하고 사회통합을 중시한 사회개발 아젠다를 포괄하는 필요성을 인지하기 시작했다. 마을 공동체에게 권한위임을 강화하기 위한 ‘Programme Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat/National Programme (PNPM)’과 ‘포괄적캄풍환경개선프로그램’은 포괄적인 개발방식과 빈곤탈출전략을 채택하였다. 인도네시아는 마을공동체 주도의 개발방식에 따라 도시의 빈곤탈출을 위해 물리적, 사회적, 경제적, 환경적인 여러 관점에서 기반구조와 서비스공급체계를 구축하는 포괄적인 방식으로 진행되었다.

본 연구의 결론은 다음과 같이 도출되었다.

첫째, 역사적으로 토지소유권에 관해 많은 우여곡절이 있었지만 인도네시아에서는 토지소유권의 이중적인 시스템이 작동하고 있다. 관습법적인 아닷 (Adat)은 성문법과 공존하고 있다.

둘째, 사회통합과 물리적인 시설구축을 통한 캄풍환경개선을 위해 지방정부는 자발적인 마을공동체의 유력한 협력파트너이다.

셋째, 유엔과 월드뱅크에서는 슬럼개선을 위한 거시적인 지표와 가이드스를 개발하였지만, 정책집행과정을 크게 고려하지 않았다. 이에 캄풍개선에서 과정을 중시해야 하며 마을공동체는 주도적 또는 협동적인 역할을 수행할 것이 요청된다.

넷째, 개발도상국가가 슬럼 개선을 위해 실무적이고 상세한 수준의 ‘마을거버넌스 시스템’의 설계가 필요하다. 이를 위해 실무적이고 상세한 수준의 ‘마을거버넌스시스템’의 설계가 필요하다.

주요어 : 관습토지소유권, 캄풍, 인도네시아, 자조주택, site-and-service, 캄풍 환경 개선 프로그램, 슬럼, 슬럼 개선

학 번 : 2014-24074